

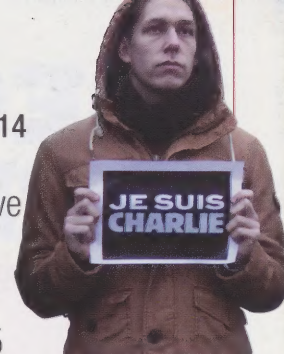
**National Action  
unmasked**  
INVESTIGATION p28



**UKIP in the  
General Election**  
COMMENT P23



**France after  
the terror**  
INTERNATIONAL p14

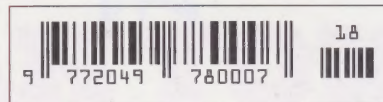


# H PE not hate

Providing a positive  
antidote to hate  
and intolerance

March-April 2015

Issue no. 18 Price £3.50



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# HOPE not hate

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anti-racist publication

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publication providing information on  
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to combat them.

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## Nick Lowles

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## Europe under strain

RELATIONS BETWEEN faiths and communities are being increasingly strained across Europe as terrorists, racists and religious extremists spread their poison through violence, terror and fear.

We have seen appalling terrorist attacks in Paris and Copenhagen, a police shootout in Belgium that killed two suspected Jihadist terrorists and a carnival called off in Germany after the authorities picked up information that it was going to be attacked by Islamists.

The UK has not been immune to these rising tensions. Anti-Muslim hatred rose in the immediate aftermath of the Paris attacks and a report found that antisemitic incidents in the UK had doubled in a year. A UK branch of PEGIDA is planning to march in Newcastle while antisemites and nazis have announced their intention to march through Stamford Hill, in Hackney, which is home to a large Orthodox Jewish community.

The conviction, last month, of Brusthom Ziamani, who left his home last August to behead a British soldier, is a reminder of how serious the threat can be.

Every incident puts further strains on community relations and increases tensions; every incident tests our ability to stay united that bit further.

Sadly, things are only likely to get worse. A pattern has been set and we are likely to see more terrorist attacks over the coming months as Jihadists refocus their attention away from Syria and Iraq and right-wingers target and vilify entire communities in response.

Every terrorist incident is a gift for those who believe communities cannot live together peacefully and anti-Muslim "counter-Jihadists" will

undoubtedly seek to exploit these tensions and wind up the situation further.

More worryingly, there is increasing chatter from the fringes of Britain's far right about meeting fire with fire – to respond to any future Islamist terrorist incident with its own attack.

Whilst most of this will be bravado, the seriousness of the threat is even alarming the authorities who are stepping up surveillance of these groups.

While increased police action is welcome, the real solution can only be found by us – the people – standing up to fear and hatred.

It is not enough just to be 'anti-' or speak up in a time of crisis but rather we need to work positively all year round for the type of society we want to live in.

We have to be prepared to stand together united, and refuse to allow the extremists – of whatever colour or religion – to divide us.

We must stand together as Christians, Muslims and Jews; those with religion and those without. We need to stand together as white, black and Asian. But most fundamentally, we need to stand together as citizens, regardless of our colour and religion.

Diversity has its positives but we also need to find a togetherness that bonds us together. A togetherness that unites us – around which we can all feel proud and relaxed. A togetherness that is not built around some flaky imposed idea of Britishness but is based on our values of equality, freedom, democracy, respect and tolerance.

Britain, like other parts of Europe, is under strain. We all need to do our bit to pro-actively defend the type of society we want to live in.



## INSIDE



### PAGE 12

#### ANOTHER CHOUDARY FOLLOWER IS CONVICTED OF TERRORISM



### PAGE 16

#### GERMANY: ISLAMOPHOBIC PEGIDA MOVEMENT UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT



### PAGE 42

#### CAMPAIGN NEWS: CHANNEL 4'S IMMIGRATION STREET DEBACLE

#### HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 95,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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## HOPE not hate

#### 7 Home News

PEGIDA UK to hold its first demonstration in Newcastle

#### 8 International News

Austria: 9,000 anti-fascists protest rightist party

#### 11 Guest Column

"Allah hu akbar," cried the rebbe...

#### 12 The Godfather of Jihadist terror

Another follower of Anjem Choudary convicted of terrorism

#### 14 France after the terror

Extreme-right fails to take advantage of *Charlie Hebdo* massacre

#### 16 Germany: Putting paid to PEGIDA

Islamophobic PEGIDA movement under the spotlight

#### 20 A nest of vipers

A look at one of UKIP's loudest online supporters

#### 23 Going Purple?

Nick Lowles on what success and failure in the General Election will mean for UKIP

#### 28 Investigation: National action

Who and what is National Action?

#### 34 A crisis of democracy

An astonishing 28% of the British adult population could soon find themselves without an electoral voice

#### 38 New nazi swamp – Griffin dives in

Swimming with the pond life in the APF

#### 40 Greece: Left and Right win in Greece

Greeks hand convincing victory to the left radical party SYRIZA

#### 42 Campaign news

Channel 4's *Immigration Street* debacle

#### 46 Last word ...

Nigel Bromage tells Nick Lowles how he is setting up an organisation to warn on the dangers of the far right

## CONTRIBUTORS



#### TOR BACH

In the Guest Column, Norwegian anti-fascist Tor Bach reports on how Oslo's Muslims showed solidarity with the local Jewish community.



#### JEAN-YVES CAMUS

French political commentator and academic Jean-Yves Camus reflects on the fall-out from the terror attack in Paris

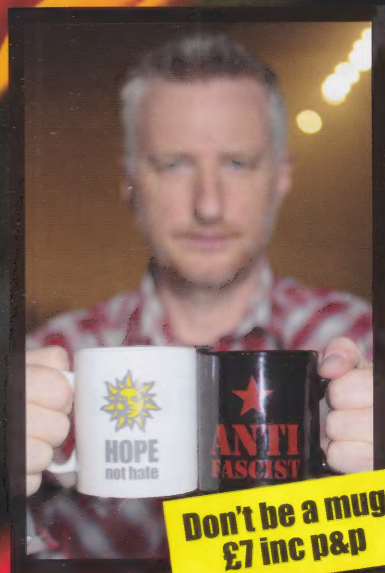


#### NIGEL BROMAGE

In the Last Word, Nigel Bromage discusses his past involvement in the far right and his determination to help others leave



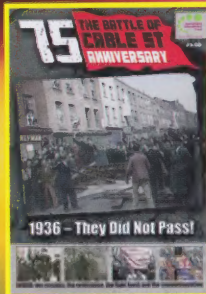
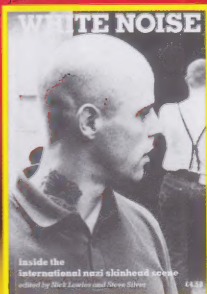
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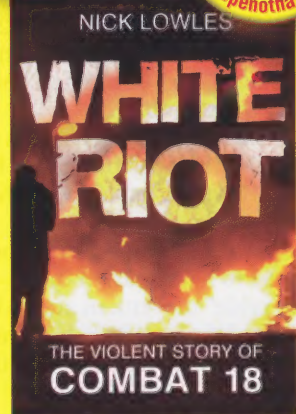
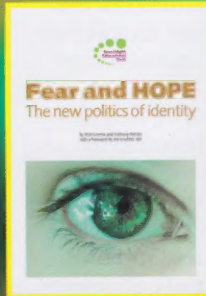
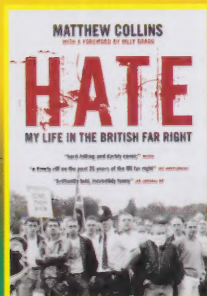
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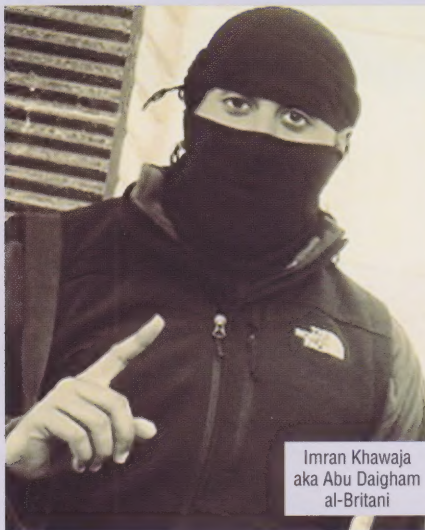
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## Jihadist jailed after faking own death

A UK-BASED JIHADIST was jailed for 12 years last month after attempting to fake his own death to allow him to return to the UK.

Imran Khawaja *aka* Abu Daigham al-Britani, pleaded guilty to four terror offences, including preparation for acts of terror, after he joined a training camp with the Rayat al-Tawheed (RAT) terrorist organisation, a mouthpiece for people from the UK fighting in support of Isis in Syria.

In Syria, Khawaja posed for photos and a video while holding the severed heads of Syrian soldiers killed during the conflict.

A convicted drug dealer, Khawaja was arrested in Dover last year. Anti-terror police had already identified him from his propaganda videos and his passport triggered an alert on his return.

Khawaja was handed a 12-years sentence at Woolwich Crown Court with an additional five years on licence.

For the three other counts, which included weapons training and possession of an article for terrorist purposes, Khawaja received sentences of between seven and eleven years that will be served concurrently with the 12-years term.

## Welsh nazi jailed for bottle attack



A WELSH nazi has been jailed for five years for attacking an Asian man with a bottle.

Richard Harris, from Blackwood, Caerphilly, smashed the bottle over the head of Zahoor Hussain in July 2013 after seeing him talking to a white female colleague at The Mornington Lodge pub in Blackwood.

Hussain was left unconscious with his left ear almost severed from his head. The injuries have left him with hearing problems.

Harris, who has swastika tattoos, admitted to being part of the so-called "white pride" movement and to being a member of the nazi British Movement and was also found to have pictures of Adolf Hitler in his living room.

Harris had shouted at the woman: "What are you doing drinking with terrorists?" He then told Hussain: "You are all animals. This is not your country."

Judge Jonathan Ferris told Harris, who was found guilty of racially aggravated wounding, that he was a "dangerous extremist who is capable of extreme violence."

Superintendent Mark Warrender, in charge of hate crime at Gwent Police, said: "This was a disgusting assault that has had life-changing effects for the victim."

The vicious, unprovoked attack happened on the day of Fusilier Lee Rigby's funeral.

## Speak up for immigration says tourism boss

THE CHAIRMAN of a travel industry association has called for politicians to "stand up to anti-immigration rhetoric". UKinbound chairman Mark McVay, speaking at its annual convention in Leicester in February, said: "We, like the NHS, depend on overseas workers. The free flow of immigration across Europe is vital."

He said: "I wish one of the political parties would stand up against the anti-immigration rhetoric, which is damaging. Look at how diverse we are now. Britain is young and dynamic." McVay continued: "Please let there be someone who will speak up for immigration and let's get away from this Little Britain mentality."

## Great response for Keighley mosque open days



A WEST YORKSHIRE mosque has opened its doors and welcomed schoolchildren and members of the public as part of a project established to bring Muslims and non-Muslims together.

The Shahjalal Mosque in Keighley gathered local people together to observe prayer and attend seminars and tours of the mosque. Visitors were also able to attend an exhibition that includes displays, models, pictures, artefacts and examples of calligraphy.

Mosque general secretary, Mohammed Moin Uddin, said: "It's been fantastic. We've had lots of interested people from different

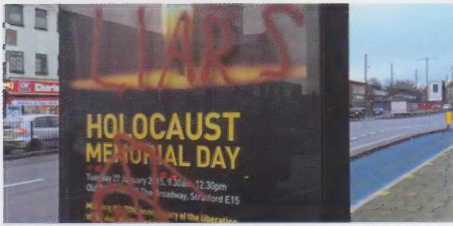
organisations coming along. It's about getting people to know about other religions. The more we meet, the more easily we can get on."

Javed Bashir, a community development officer with Bradford Council Children's Services, said: "This is a good initiative which we're supporting. It's great to see people from different communities coming into the mosque. There are some young children here who've probably never been in a mosque before."

Pupils from 15 local schools have now visited the mosque along with members of the clergy from nearby churches.



## Antisemitic incidents double in year



A REPORT PUBLISHED by The All Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism has called for social media users who spread racial hatred to be banned from Facebook and Twitter.

The inquiry called for prosecutors to consider the introduction of prevention orders similar to those used in the restriction of convicted sex offenders and their usage of the internet. It also called for social media sites to prevent abusers from being able to hide behind fake identities.

The report follows a paper released by the Community Security Trust revealing that reported antisemitic incidents in the UK have more than doubled, the highest figure recorded since the CST began recording such incidents in 1984. In July 2014 alone, there were more antisemitic incidents in one month than the previous six months combined.

The CST revealed that, in 2014, 81 assaults, 81 cases of damage of Jewish property and 884 cases of abusive behaviour took place, more than double those of the previous year. One in five of the incidents were threats or abuse on social media.

The Home Secretary, Theresa May, said the figures were "deeply concerning".

## PEGIDA UK to hold its first demonstration in Newcastle

A BRANCH of the failing German anti-Islamic movement PEGIDA has sprung up in the UK and plans to hold its first demonstration in Newcastle on 28 February with further demonstrations planned for London and Birmingham. PEGIDA, an acronym for Patriotic Europeans Against The Islamisation Of The West, originated in Dresden and attracted as many as 25,000 supporters at one demonstration although it is now in decline.

Matthew Pope, a violent thug from Huntingdon, who has a number of links to the far right and has admitted spreading anti-Islamic and racist sentiment online, leads the UK branch.

In one online posting, Pope called for Islam to be made illegal, despite claiming the PEGIDA movement is only concerned with extreme forms of the religion.

The UK branch has a Facebook page with over 16,000 likes but there is little

## Leicester men jailed after hate campaign

SIX MEN FROM Leicester have been jailed for their part in an anti-Muslim hate campaign that saw a man lured to a secluded area and violently assaulted.

Parwinder Banning was jailed for 7 1/2 years after he admitted possession of a bladed article, conspiracy to commit assault, actual bodily harm, possession of an imitation firearm, two counts of purchasing a prohibited weapons, two counts of improper importation, attempting to import and importing prohibited goods.

Harjinder Athwal was jailed for 2 1/2 years after he admitted publishing or distributing material with intent to stir up religious hatred, conspiracy to commit assault and actual bodily harm.

Mehul Lodhia admitted conspiracy to commit assault and importing prohibited weapons. He was sentenced to a total of three years in prison.

Amanpreet Singh was jailed for two years after admitting affray.

Damanpreet Singh admitted publishing or distributing written material with intent to stir up religious hatred, conspiracy to commit assault, actual bodily harm and affray. He was jailed for a total of four years.

Satinderbir Singh admitted



publishing or distributing written material with intent to stir up religious hatred. He was sentenced to a total of 15 months in prison.

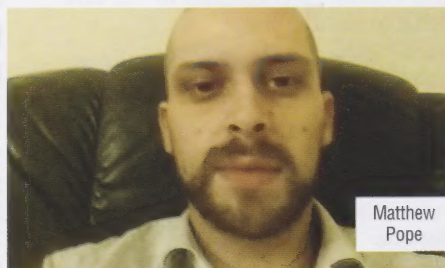
A car that contained two Muslim men was attacked by a gang armed with hockey sticks, chains and other weapons in 2013.

The men also set up a website account that they used to lure Muslim men to contact a young girl and, when one turned up to meet the girl, he was attacked by the gang.

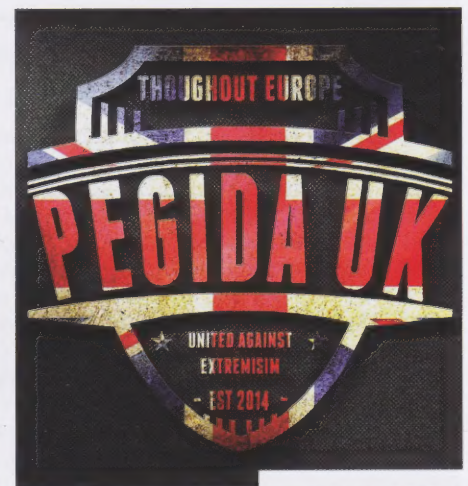
Judge Nicholas Dean praised the calming influence shown by Muslim and Sikh community leaders during a time of tension.

evidence that this will manifest itself in boots on the ground in Newcastle.

Newcastle Central MP Chi Onwurah was written to Home Secretary Theresa May, asking her to ban the PEGIDA march, fearing it could create an increase in Islamophobia in the city.



Matthew Pope



- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/) scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: National Action page 28





## NETHERLANDS | Dutch nazi a face in German PEGIDA

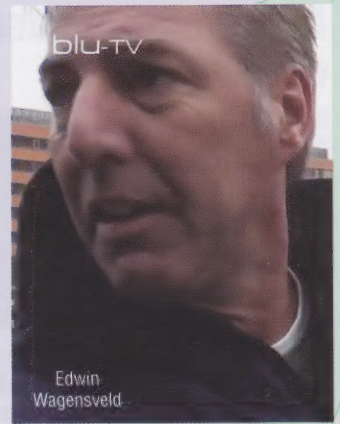
FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! IN AMSTERDAM

EDWIN WAGENSVELD is a regular speaker at PEGIDA demonstrations in Germany. Dutch but resident in Germany and appearing in the media as 'Ed aus Holland', Wagensveld read a message from Freedom Party (PVV) leader Geert Wilders to a 17,000 strong crowd in Dresden on 25 January saying "I support you dearly. Millions in Europe support you. I'm proud of you all".

Wagensveld is, however, not at all the "regular, concerned citizen" he portrays himself and PEGIDA demonstrators to be in the media. In Hanover on 15 November 2014, he participated in a demonstration of the PEGIDA mob's predecessor,

Hooligans Gegen Salafisten (HoGeSa).

According to German anti-fascists, Wagensveld is one of the moderators of the HoGeSa forum. Through Facebook, he "likes" all kinds of messages of the nazi Dutch People's Union (NVU) and is a friend of nazis from such notorious groups as Ulfhednar, Nationale Sozialisten Niederlande and Blood&Honour. He also manages a web shop in Germany where he sells air guns, pepperspray and tasers aimed at the Dutch market. The interest shown by Dutch nazis in such junk is worrying.



Edwin Wagensveld

## AUSTRIA | 9,000 anti-fascists protest rightist party

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

9,000 PEOPLE gathered to oppose the annual so-called "Academics' Ball" at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna on 30 January. It was not only the largest anti-fascist mobilisation Austria has seen in years but, despite some incidents and arrests, also the most peaceful and calmest demonstration against the event for years.

Thousands of people joined multiple marches as well as sit-ins to block access to the rightist waltzfest in the official residence and workplace of Austria's president. Two of the most poignant protests were the speeches that Holocaust survivor Dora Schimanko and former concentration camp prisoner Rudi Gelbard made in front of the Hofburg.

Since 2013, the Freedom Party (FPÖ) has organised

this tawdry gathering of pan-Germanist student fraternities that is notorious for networking the European fascist scene. FPÖ leader and event patron Heinz-Christian Strache delivered an anticipatory message by tweeting that "again the SA troops ("socialist antifa") will march in Vienna". This tasteless analogy with the Nazi *Sturmabteilung* is in line with the FPÖ's ongoing efforts to reverse the roles of victim and perpetrator. Strache has previously compared protests with the so-called *Kristallnacht* (the Nazi pogrom of November 1938) and claimed that he and his extremist ball guests are the "new Jews". The Hofburg's operating company has confirmed the reservation for next year's ball.



(above) Heinz-Christian Strache and Udo Guggenbichler at the opening address.

(top) counter demonstration

## SPAIN | PxC leaders accused of trying to kill former boss Anglada

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS IN MADRID FOR ANTIFEXISTES.ORG

JUST MONTHS after the founder and leader of the fascist Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC) Josep Anglada was expelled for embezzling €32,000 of party money, he has brought charges against general secretary Robert Hernando and two members of the PxC's executive, Joan Carles Fuentes, a councillor in Vic, and Ignacio Mulleras, a councillor in Olot, for plotting to murder him.

The charges claim that the defendants wanted to use a truck, whose driver was also part of the plan, to crash into Anglada's car, killing him. The person the accused men wanted to carry out the killing recorded a conversation with Fuentes outlining the scheme. The trial began in January and is still in progress.

PxC obtained 65,905 votes and 67 councillors in the 2011 local elections but only in Catalunya. Anglada had been a councillor in Vic, near Barcelona since 2003. Before that he was the Catalan representative of the fascist Fuerza Nueva party. PxC, which has been variously supported by the German-Swedish billionaire Islamophobe Patrik Brinkmann, the Austrian Freedom Party and by the Italian Lega Nord, has never made it into the Catalan Parliament and in the last elections in 2012 got 60,142 votes (1.66%).



Josep Anglada

Former AC Milan and Italy coach Arrigo Sacchi



## ITALY | Ex-Italy coach denies 'too many blacks' comments are racist

SOURCE: BBC

FORMER AC MILAN and Italy coach Arrigo Sacchi has denied he is racist after claiming Italy's youth set-up features "too many blacks". Sacchi, 68, criticised the number of "foreigners" in the lower leagues at an awards ceremony. He later stated: "I just wanted to underline the fact that we're losing our national pride and identity."

Sacchi attended the Viareggio Tournament, which is regarded as the most prestigious youth tournament in Italy, in February. He is reported as saying at the Maestrelli awards





## LITHUANIA | Nationalist mob commemorates Nazi killers

SOURCE: DAILY FORWARD

FIVE HUNDRED ultra-nationalists, some carrying Nazi swastika flags, marched through Kaunas, a city that witnessed the region's biggest WWII massacre of Jews, on 16 February. The march, in Lithuania's second largest city, was the eighth organised by the Lithuanian Nationalist Youth Union.

"This march is particularly offensive because it is taking place where locals and Nazis murdered more than 10,000 Jews in one day," said Dovid Katz. Katz, editor of the website DefendingHistory.com, was referring to the Kaunas massacre in October 1941, in which more Jews were killed in a single day than any other killing spree against Jews in the Baltic region.

During the march, locals chanted "out with Katz" and made obscene gestures at him and at Efraim Zuroff, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Three nationalist activists posed for pictures next to Zuroff holding signs that accused Israel of being a racist state and showed an insulting picture of African refugees.

Many in the Baltic states regard local fascists as heroes because they fought Communist occupation, which is often equated with the Nazi one. "This comparison is not only false, it also serves to whitewash the stain in these countries' histories instead of confronting it, as other European nations have done," Zuroff said.



## SERBIA | Balkan nazis in Ukraine war

FROM DAŠKO MILINOVIC IN NOVI SAD

OLD HATREDS and hostility between Serbian and Croatian nationalists have found new fertile soil to grow in in the warzones of Ukraine that have become a new home to hundreds of volunteers and mercenaries from Balkans.

Croatian fascists have sided with Ukrainian nazis from the Azov battalion, living out their Ustasha (WW2-era Croatian Nazis) fantasies and pointing out supposed "continuity of Croatian aid to the anti-Russian cause" as when legions of Croatian fascists were sent to Stalingrad. Serbian fascists, meanwhile, are fighting alongside Russian nazis in the forces of "Novorussia". The Serbian volunteers are motivated by

a bizarre mix of orthodox Christianity and love of Putin, Stalin and Russia. Most say they have gone to Ukraine to stop "Western fascism" while those coming from the ranks of Blood and Honour/C18 are there to "help fellow Russian Aryan brothers in their fight against the Jews".

Large numbers of volunteers on both sides are not typical "Dogs of War" and have no combat experience. They are very young, seek adventure and could become a great threat if they return home. Officially, both Serbia and Croatia have warned that those embroiling themselves in foreign conflicts such as this one will lose citizenship and face prison sentences upon their return.



Hungarian PM Viktor Orbán

## HUNGARY | Orbán cranks up anti-migrant rhetoric

ISTVÁN TÓTH REPORTS FROM BUDAPEST

HUNGARIAN PM Viktor Orbán took to the airwaves in January to ratchet up his anti-immigrant rhetoric, declaring in an interview that "Hungary must be defended against an influx of immigrants". This position, pioneered by the fascist Jobbik party, resonates with the majority of Hungarians and the ruling right-wing Fidesz party is seemingly not only singing from the same song sheet as Jobbik but also implementing its anti-immigration programme.

Though, in the run up to last year's parliamentary elections, Jobbik's leaders might have softened their antisemitic rhetoric, its "Hungarians first" policy is aimed at the Roma

community and contains strong xenophobic elements.

At a press conference in January 2015, party leader Gábor Vona claimed, "There is a connection between immigration and terrorism" and that "a new era had begun and terrorism had immigrated to Europe". In Vona's view the "vile and barbaric" terrorist acts in Paris recently were not a single event, but the beginning of a trend. "At the borders of Europe we need to put a board saying EUROPE IS FULL!" he declared, to emphasise his xenophobic view that Hungary must proclaim zero tolerance against immigration.

ceremony in Tuscany: "I'm not racist and my history as a coach shows that, but watching at the Viareggio Cup makes me think there are too many coloured players."

When asked to clarify his comments by *La Gazzetta dello Sport* later Sacchi claimed he had been "misrepresented". His last role in the game came as director of football at Real Madrid 10 years ago. In October, the president of the Italian football federation, Carlo Tavecchio, was banned for six months by UEFA after referring to "banana eaters" when discussing foreign players last summer. Inter Milan was fined 50,000 euros in February 2013 after its fans were found guilty of racially abusing former Inter striker Mario Balotelli.

■ For the latest international news visit <http://hopenothate.org.uk/news/world/> or scan the QR code right >>

■ Feature: Putting paid to PEGIDA page 39





## CANADA | Mass murder plot

A YOUNG WOMAN from Illinois with a weird taste for Nazi symbolism and white supremacy was one of two people arrested in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in February, for plotting mass murder at a Halifax mall on Valentine's Day.

Lindsay Kanihtha Souvannarath, a 23-year-old from Geneva, Illinois, was arrested along with Randall Steven Shepherd, 20, of Halifax, at the local airport after she had flown in to meet him. According to the authorities, she confessed to the plot shortly after her arrest.

Another young plotter, James Gamble, 19, of Timberlea, Nova Scotia, shot himself in the head when police surrounded his home and a fourth man, arrested with Shepherd at the airport, was released after police decided he was not involved.

Police said the trio planned to invade a local mall on Valentine's Day, armed to the teeth, and begin killing as many people as they could. However, all of the officials involved insisted that it was not a terrorist act, since there was no "cultural" component to the plotters' motives. Several Canadian media outlets have challenged this, noting that the would-be perpetrators, notably Souvannarath, had clear far right ideological affinities.

The website Political Gates collected some of Souvannarath's online postings dating back to when she was a teenager and found numerous images and posts that made clear that she advocated fascist and neo-Nazi ideology and was a fan of mass violence. These images included a classic "White Power" logo complete with a swastika and SS symbol.

## IRAN | \$12,000 contest for Holocaust denial cartoons

A VILE GLOBAL cartoon competition based on Holocaust denial has been launched in Iran in retaliation for the *Charlie Hebdo* cover featuring a caricature of the Prophet Muhammad.

Organised by the Tehran-based House of Cartoons and the Sarcheshmeh Cultural Complex, the contest sets out questions for entrants to address in their artwork, including: "If the West says that freedom of speech has no borders then why don't they let historians and experts properly research the Holocaust?" and "Why should the Palestinian people pay for the Holocaust?"

Entries must be submitted by April Fools' Day because "April 1 is the day of big lies, and the Holocaust is a big lie that the Zionists invented to suppress the Palestinians," declared Masoud Shojaei-Tabatabaie, head of House of Cartoons and one of the competition organisers. Holocaust denial is common in Iran – most notably represented by ex-president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad – but both president Hassan Rouhani and foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif have publicly rejected it.

This is the second such event. In 2006, after violent protests outside the Danish embassy in Tehran in response to a Danish newspaper depicting the Prophet Muhammad, Iran launched its first Holocaust denial cartoon contest and organised a Holocaust denial conference attended by US ex-Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and many other fascists and antisemites.

The second International Holocaust cartoon contest-2015



Lindsay Kantha Souvannarath and Randall Steven Shepherd



Steve Emerson claimed on Fox News that Birmingham, England was now "totally Muslim"



## USA | Muslim no-go zones

FROM CENTER FOR NEW COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO

AFTER THE *Charlie Hebdo* terror assault on 7 January, leaders of the anti-Muslim movement in the United States began collectively indulging the groundless theory of "Muslim no-go zones." Garnering much criticism as the month went on, their indulgence eventually led to embarrassment and even to some apologies.

Self-appointed terrorism expert Steve Emerson kicked off the absurdity on 11 January by falsely claiming on Fox News,

America's prime conservative cable news channel, that Birmingham, England was now "totally Muslim." Soon after, Prime Minister David Cameron labelled Emerson a "complete idiot."

Since then, other influential "experts" have likewise proved themselves deserving of Cameron's epithet. For their parts, national anti-Muslim figureheads Frank Gaffney (Center for Security Policy) and Brigitte Gabriel (ACT! for America) also appeared on Fox News where they peddled this myth as a case for severe restrictions on immigration to the United States from Muslim-majority countries. During a

broadcast on 13 January, both went as far as to claim these zones are taking root in certain areas in the state of Michigan.

One anti-Muslim leader has come forward to admit he was lying about these "zones." Claiming he coined the term in 2006, Daniel Pipes publicly backpedalled in an interview on 14 July, admitting there are "no European countries with no-go zones." Three days later, Fox News even issued a rare apology, stating there is "no credible information" that supports any guest's claim of "no-go zones."

"Complete idiots," indeed.



## Guest column...

## “Allah hu akbar,” cried the rebbe...



By Tor Bach for *vepsen* in Oslo

“YOU MUST SAY to the young Muslims in Norway that they have given me hope. They have given me a reason to continue living. Maybe it was a meaning to my son’s death. Maybe it gives reason to life for the future. This message goes to all the world, it is not just here in Norway, it is a universal message,” said Oslo’s chief rabbi, Michael Melchior, quoting the father of murdered Danish synagogue security guard, Dan Uzan, from the steps of Oslo’s synagogue.

Outside the synagogue, a human chain of young Muslims stood guard, stating that if the terrorists want to get to the Jews, they would have to get through the Muslims of Norway first.

Outside this ring of peace, the street was filled with cheering people of all faiths and none, 1,400 showing up to demonstrate their solidarity on a dark and cold Saturday evening.

This mighty show of solidarity came after a very heated debate in which representatives of the governing Progress Party have made one outrageous statement after another, including accusing

the Christian Democrats of being responsible for young Norwegians joining the Islamic State and comparing the murderous actions of Boko Haram and ISIL with bishop Tor B. Jørgensen’s views on the need for taxes to finance the state.

Former conservative PM Kåre Willoch has been accused of antisemitism and former head of the Progress Party, Carl I. Hagen has repeated the stale conspiracy theory of the Islamisation-by-stealth of Norway.

In this political climate – and in a society burdened with growing fears of Islamist terrorism – nine young Muslims used social media to set up the ring of peace outside the synagogue.

Being verbally attacked by counter-Jihadists, nazis, and extreme pro-Israeli groups even before the demonstration, it was obvious that the initiative had struck a raw nerve.

Already an hour before the event got underway, the normally quiet street in a mainly residential area started to fill up, supervised by a heavy police presence.

Behind Melchior stood the

Jewish congregation celebrating the *Havdalah* ceremony in open air, in a powerful display of trust in their young Muslim protectors.

On a street corner were young people from the multicultural hunters and anglers association, Wild X, with lots of helpers serving hot lentil soup and coffee to those attending the demonstration as well as to the present police officers.

Swarming around the synagogue were journalists from all over the world, broadcasting this unique demonstration of Muslim-Jewish solidarity.

One of the organisers was 17-years-old Hajrah Arshad. “We are not here to apologise for the terror”, she stated from the stage, “we are here to stand together with you.”

Ali Chishti delivered the bravest speech. Five years ago, he gained notoriety in Norway after a hate-filled, antisemitic speech he had made at a public meeting. Outside the synagogue, he now stood, still

with his Palestinian scarf around his neck, and made a moving public self-criticism in front of the Jewish community. “I was young, I was angry and I made a hate-filled speech based on conspiracy theories”, he said before going on to list historic examples of Muslim-Jewish unity and peaceful co-existence.

Rabbi Melchior spoke about how non-believers had encircled the prophet Mohammed to protect his life and told the young Muslims that what they did was rooted deeply in Islam. “The ring you are forming now is the same ring as made by those who protected the Prophet. By forming this ring of love, of solidarity, you have broken another circle, a circle of fear, of hatred, of murder.”

“Allah hu akbar – God is great”, cried the rabbi to a mesmerised audience. “Our common God is everywhere, but most of all he is present where people build bridges, where people form circles, that is where God wants to be.” ●

■ TOR BACH is chief editor of the Norwegian online anti-fascist publication *vepsen* and a long time friend of HOPE not hate



# The Godfather of Jihad



by Nick Lowles

LAST MONTH, yet another follower of Islamist hate preacher Anjem Choudary was convicted of terrorism. Brusthom Ziamani, aged just 19, was found guilty of plotting to behead a British soldier on the streets of London last August.

When arrested, Ziamani was carrying a 12-inch knife, a hammer and an Islamic State flag. The court heard that he had just left his girlfriend's house after telling her of his plans.

This brings the total number of British citizens linked to Choudary and his banned al-Muhajiroun network who have carried out terrorist acts or been convicted of a terrorist-related offence to ninety-two.

Ziamani was brought up in Camberwell, south London, by his

Congolese parents. His mother worked as a nursery nurse and his father was a psychiatric nurse.

The court heard how Ziamani became interested in Islam at the age of 15 through rap music and converted three years later.

His interest in Islam brought him into conflict with his parents, who were active Jehovah's Witnesses, and he was kicked out of home.

He had already been meeting al-Muhajiroun supporters but now homeless and penniless he gratefully accepted their hospitality. He was given money, clothes and a place to stay by the group, attended their talks in the basement of a *halal* sweet shop in Whitechapel, owned by Anjem

Choudary's brother, and bought a black flag to take on their demonstrations.

In April 2014, he "re-verted" in a ceremony overseen by Choudary himself and threw himself fully into the group's activities.

Writing on Facebook, he said that he was "willing to die in the cause of Allah" and: "Sharia law on its way on our streets. We will implement it, it's part of our religion."

He was arrested last June when police found a ripped-up letter in his jeans' pocket in which he wrote about mounting an attack on a British soldier and expressed the desire to die a martyr.

Fuelled by anger at events in Syria and Iraq, he wrote that as he did not have the money to travel out there he would



# st terror



(Main photo) Choudary with Zimani.  
(top left) Choudary with Richard Dart  
(top right) Choudary with Mohammed Chowdhury  
(left) Choudary with the killer of Lee Rigby - Michael Adebolajo

than 92 people who have been directly involved in terrorism or convicted of a terror-related offence over the last 15 years.

This list includes the 7/7 bombers, the 2004 fertiliser bomb plotters who sought to bring down transatlantic planes and the killers of Lee Rigby.

Hundreds more have been convicted of lesser offences, including the 12 al-Muhajiroun enthusiasts who were recently convicted for their involvement in an unprovoked attack on some Shia Muslims along the Edgware Road.

There are at least another 20-30 al-Muhajiroun supporters, including many of its most senior members, on remand awaiting trial, many for serious terror-related offences.

The al-Muhajiroun network has sent dozens, if not over a hundred, of Britons to Syria to fight and, together with its sister organisations across Europe, has been the single biggest recruiter for ISIS in the West.

Both British IS suicide bombers were active in Choudary's organisations, with one having been imprisoned for distributing al-Muhajiroun leaflets in Derby calling for homosexuals to be killed.

While Choudary might not have been directly involved in terror plots, he helped shape the mindset of many of those behind them. He indoctrinated them and through his networks linked them up to terror groups and supporters across the world.

Many of those convicted of terrorism were active supporters of his group at

the time of their arrest. Habib Ahmed, who was convicted of being a member of al-Qaeda, was their Manchester branch organiser. Mohammed Chowdhury, the ringleader of the 2010 Christmas bomb plot, was filmed helping set up a Skype interview between Anjem Choudary and Omar Bakri (al-Muhajiroun's founder, originally a member of radical sect Hizb ut-Tahrir) only three weeks before his arrest.

Choudary plays a crucial role in militant Jihadist operations both in the UK and abroad. He winds his followers up, fills their heads with extreme Islamist ideology and gives them the justification for action.

He then sits back and watches them act. And he is increasingly fulfilling this role internationally. A recent Dutch Security Service report named Choudary as the key spark for the emergence of militant Jihadism in the Netherlands.

Another report in Indonesia claimed that Choudary had heavily influenced both the two leading recruiters of Islamists for the Islamic State.

He has also been influential in establishing Jihadist groups in Belgium, Denmark, Indonesia, Italy, Ireland and Finland.

The media love to portray Choudary as a rent-a-quote clown but he is calculated, scheming and very dangerous.

As Ziamani prepares for many years behind bars, surely it is time that Choudary was held responsible for the people he indoctrinates.

conduct his war against the British at home instead. "Wee (sic) should do a 9/11, 7/7 and a Woolwich all in one day," he wrote in the letter.

Zia Mani was arrested under the Terrorism Act but bailed under strict conditions. However, he refused to engage with any de-radicalisation initiatives.

## A well-trodden path

Ziamani is just the latest of a long line of Muslim terrorists who have been through Choudary's organisation. What is shocking, though, in this case is the speed in which this young man converted to Islam and plotted to carry out an atrocity.

HOPE not hate has identified no fewer



# France after the terror

The murder of 12 people, including two police officers, at *Charlie Hebdo* magazine on 7 January and the antisemitic rampage at a Paris kosher supermarket on 9 January are now considered France's 9/11.

The extreme-right has proved unable to take advantage of the situation but now is the time for the left to open real debate on why it has turned a blind eye towards Islamic radicalism and the anti-Jewish attitudes that come with it.

**Jean-Yves Camus** reports from Paris



THE MURDERS at the offices of the weekly newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* on 7 January came as a shock, even though it was known that Islamic radicals from Al Qaeda, among others, had put it on its "wanted list" since its publication of the controversial Danish *Jyllandsposten* cartoons that sparked international protests by Muslims in 2006.

Although the magazine's editor, "Charb", had police protection, it was assumed that, as time passed, the Jihadis' desire for revenge had cooled. The murderers, it turned out, were second-rank members of a cell that sent fighters to Iraq back in 2004. They had been arrested previously and one of the Kouachi brothers – who carried out the *Charlie Hebdo* slaughter – became radicalised while in jail, where he met Amedy Coulibaly, the terrorist who murdered four customers at a kosher supermarket on 9 January.

This fact has opened lively debate on the scope of Jihadi radicalisation in French prisons where more than 100 alleged Muslim radicals are now being held and are able to convert other inmates detained for petty crime. The government has announced that Jihadis will, from now on, be separated from other detainees.

Other issues being debated are free

speech and blasphemy. *Charlie Hebdo* is a left-wing satirical newspaper that carries a lot of investigative material, especially on the extreme-right, in the French tradition of secularism and savage criticism of all religions.

Although the Catholic Church and Jewish zealots are regular targets of its cartoonists, it has also been attacked for promoting Islamophobia via its biting cartoons, notwithstanding the fact that secular Muslims write in its columns and that the editorial team at the helm in 2006 was replaced by one less focused on Islamic fundamentalists.

After the shootings, the accusation of Islamophobia was voiced again by the influential Muslim theologian Tariq Ramadan while other Muslim organisations like the UOIF (Muslim Brotherhood), condemned the attack but "forgot" to acknowledge that they lost when they sued *Charlie Hebdo* for publishing cartoons they claimed were "blasphemous".

Banning blasphemy may be part of the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition but it is opposed by an overwhelming majority of French people of all ethnicities and faiths. Islamic organisations need to understand that, as much as the Catholic fundamentalist groups that launched the "I am not Charlie" campaign.

As for the supposed rise of Islamophobia after the attack, an opinion poll by the IFOP Institute demonstrates the opposite: only 16% of the French hold Islam responsible for the killing, against 84% who put the blame on Jihadism only. 47% of the French say that Islam is compatible with the French republican model. That is still low but it is 21% higher than in 2013. After 9/1, there were 128 anti-Muslim incidents recorded.

## The Hypercacher killings

Amedy Coulibaly, who originates from Mali, attacked a kosher shop at rush hour on a Friday around noon, killing four customers.

His goal was to open a second front with the police while the French SWAT team was besieging the Kouachi brothers in a Paris suburb. Eventually all three terrorists were shot.

Was the supermarket assault an antisemitic attack? Undoubtedly yes, as the killer specifically claimed he was acting in revenge for Israeli violence against the Palestinians, thus once again wrongfully making French Jews accountable for the policies of Israel.

Does this killing take place in a time of growing antisemitism? The 2014 Report on Antisemitic Violence, released at the end of January by the French equivalent



of the UK's Community Security Trust, shows that there were 423 incidents in 2013 and 851 in 2014. Those figures, which match with those released by the Government, include a sharp rise in physical assaults, arson and damage to Jewish property that account for 221 incidents of the total.

Most of the incidents took place during or shortly after Israel's Operation Protective Edge in Gaza last summer. The extreme-right is heavily involved in anti-Muslim actions but is responsible for very few anti-Jewish incidents (mostly swastika daubing and hate mail). Antisemitic incidents are most often – it must be remembered that France does not allow ethnic statistics, so no exact figure is available – perpetrated by immigrants with a North African or West African background but not necessarily by observant Muslims.

In more than a hundred public schools, the remembrance ceremony for the victims of both killings was disturbed by pupils, many of whom openly referred to their Muslim identity as the reason for their behaviour. This is a very small number when compared with the tens of thousands of public schools in the country. Nevertheless, it shows that educational programmes need to be enhanced to prevent the radicalisation of Muslim youth.

Once again, teaching the difference between standing with the Palestinians or opposing Israeli policies and mistakenly holding anti-Jewish prejudices is a priority.

### FN opposes the national consensus

Those who had to be reminded that the Front National (FN) is still an extremist party, only need to listen to Jean-Marie Le Pen. The 87-years-old patriarch believes the French security service or "some kind of secret organization" masterminded the *Charlie Hebdo* and Hypercacher killings.

Current FN leader Marine Le Pen, however, sang a different tune and condemned the attacks but, a few days later, fell out with her foreign policy advisor, MEP Aymeric Chauprade, because he warned that France is "at war against Muslims".

Once again, the FN was ostracised from participating in the four million-strong demonstration in Paris on 11 January in protest at the murders. Given the fact that FN supporters consistently show a higher than average degree of prejudice against both Jews and the Muslims, the mainstream parties were right and had every reason, to refuse to have the extremist FN leadership marching alongside them. ●

# THREE DAYS OF TERROR



## WEDNESDAY 7 January

■ **ca 10.00am CET** *Charlie Hebdo* journalists meet for weekly editorial meeting at the *Charlie Hebdo* building in central Paris

■ **11.30** Two masked gunmen arrive at the building carrying Kalashnikov weapons. The gunmen kill one person at the reception area before heading to *Charlie Hebdo's* office where they execute another 10 people, including the editorial director, four cartoonists, other staff journalists, a guest and a police officer providing security. Eleven others are wounded. The attackers yell *Allahu Akbar* (God is great.)

■ **ca 11.50** The attackers fire on a police patrol car blocking their way. They head down another street and shoot police officer, Ahmed Merabet, wounding him then killing him at point-blank range as he lies dying on the pavement

■ **ca 13.00** The duo are spotted fleeing to north of Paris where they ditch their car and hijack another. Police find Jihadist flags and petrol bombs in their abandoned getaway car

■ **17.30** Tens of thousands gather at Place de la Republique for a mass vigil for the murdered and wounded

■ **20.30** Police name three suspects: the brothers Chérif and Saïd Kouachi and Hamid Mourad. Chérif Kouachi already has a terrorist conviction

■ **23.30** Armed police raid an apartment in Reims Mourad surrenders to police

## THURSDAY 8 January

■ **Pre-Dawn** A police officer is killed and a street sweeper injured in a further shooting in southern Paris

■ **10.30** The wanted brothers raid a petrol station in the Aisne region of northern France

■ **At noon** Paris comes to a standstill as a silence is held for the victims of Wednesday's attack

■ **Later that afternoon** Heavily-armed police swarm through Corcy, Longpont and Villers-Cotterêts, all near to where the brothers were seen at the filling station

■ **Thursday evening** The Eiffel Tower goes dark to honour the victims of the terrorists

## FRIDAY 9 January

■ **09.30** The Kouachis are cornered with a hostage inside a print works in Dammartin-en-Goele about 30 miles north-east of Paris. The town goes into lockdown

■ **13.30** As the standoff with the Kouachi brothers develops, a gunman takes hostages at a Jewish grocery in eastern Paris, wounding several people. The hostage taker is armed with an automatic rifle. There are multiple hostages. Some are wounded

■ **15.00** Police issue photos and names of the suspects of Thursday's shooting of a police officer as Amedy Coulibaly and Hayat Boumeddiene. Coulibaly is named as the hostage taker at the kosher store

■ **16.55** Gunfire and explosions are heard as police storm the print works in Dammartin-en-Goele, killing both the terrorists

■ **17.10** Police storm the Jewish shop in Porte de Vincennes where Coulibaly is holding his hostages

■ **17.45** Coulibaly is announced killed and the hostages released

■ **18.22** Associated Press reports that at least four people at the grocery store have been killed

■ **20.30** Interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, confirms that four hostages had been killed in the grocery store, in addition to Coulibaly

## SUNDAY 11 January

■ **France is *Charlie Hebdo*** At least 4 million people march in France's biggest-ever rally

■ Cities across Europe, including Berlin, Brussels and Vienna, hold mass rallies in solidarity with the terrorists' victims



# Putting paid to PE

From Jens Breuer und Toni Brand for *Der Rechte Rand*



FOR MONTHS ON END, the Islamophobic PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against Islamisation of the West/ Patriotic Europeans Against Islamisation of the Occident) movement has competed for the main headlines in the media in Germany and internationally.

It was under this label that people in Dresden took to the streets for the first time on 20 October 2014, the number of participants in what became a weekly rally growing very fast. Having started with just a few hundred, two months later over 15,000 answered the call to "defend the West". Media coverage was massive and, across Germany, Islamophobes, racists and right-wing populists scented

their chance and founded offshoots.

Now four months later, only a pile of rubble is left of PEGIDA – mainly owing to a nationwide counter-mobilisation.

## Fighting back in Dresden

Dresden is a major challenge. For many years, nazis rallied in thousands on 13 February to commemorate the bombing of the city by Allied forces in 1945. With considerable patience, anti-fascists managed to organise and build up relatively successful opposition to the nazis.

PEGIDA, however, was a new problem for anti-fascists, anti-racists and the "Nazi-free Dresden" alliance that for years had carried the

counter-mobilisation against the nazis.

While citizens in many parts of Germany sensed that the so-called "patriots" were Islam haters and racists, in the deeply conservative city of Dresden many people were initially unsure of what PEGIDA was and how to deal with it.

The city likes to call itself cosmopolitan but has only a small and rather marginalised immigrant community. Also, civil society like the NGOs and churches, which played an important role in the anti-Communist upheavals of 1989, are not strongly anchored in Dresden. Added to that: neither the conservative government of the Free State of Saxony nor Dresden's conservative mayor

stated a clear position against PEGIDA.

Nevertheless, the counter-protests grew from week to week. Under the motto "Unmask racism", 300 demonstrated against the fourth so-called "evening stroll" on the 10 November 2014. A week later, there were already 800 anti-PEGIDA demonstrators who managed to occupy the Theatre Square where PEGIDA wanted to hold its closing rally. Due to that it was forced to end its demonstration earlier.

Protests continued to grow steadily and, along the demonstration route, increasing numbers of people expressed their rejection with catcalls and banners.

Finally, in the pre-Christmas period, the





PEGIDA rabble in Berlin 19 January  
Photo: greeny thekid

to the slogan of 1989) was translated by Merkel to: "But actually they mean: you are no part of us - because of the colour of your skin or your religion." She also argued that it should be taken as read that Germany helps and accommodates people who take refuge there.

Finally, politics in Saxony witnessed a somersault, most probably to limit damage to the city's image at the international level, but the message of decency was heard, 35,000 people responding to the call of the government of the Free State of Saxony and the Dresden city council on the 10 January 2015 to speak out for tolerance.

The rally, held under the shadow of the murderous terrorist assaults on *Charlie Hebdo* and at a Jewish grocery shop in Paris, prompted Dresden's conservative mayor, Helma Orosz to spell out: "We will not be split by hatred." Saxony's prime minister, Stanislaw Tillich, added his view, declaring "With those who polemicise against everything foreign and fuel fears of foreigners, refugees and asylum seekers, there can be no objective discussion."

Although PEGIDA tried to profit in the short term from the murderous attacks in Paris, its "might" was already broken. On Monday 26 January, a broad coalition organised – under the inspiring title "Open and colourful – Dresden for all" – a big music event in the city. For free. Tens of thousands of Dresdeners took part.

PEGIDA advanced its rally by a day, officially justifying the move with the bogus claim that it wanted to give its followers the chance to visit

the music festival organised by its political opponents.

It did not wash. Above all, it was worried about losing support and being outnumbered on the streets. In the meantime, external pressure led to rows in PEGIDA's organising team, resulting in a split and a dramatic and irreversible loss in its ability to mobilise.

### Fighting back elsewhere

In November and December, PEGIDA groups sprang up across Germany. In many places, organisations such as KAGIDA (in Kassel), BÄRGIDA (in Berlin) or FRAGIDA – mockingly dubbed FRIGIDA – (in Frankfurt am Main) emerged. But none of them managed to attract as many people as PEGIDA in Dresden.

This was attributable to several factors. For example, there were usually people behind the branches in other cities who had been politically active for a long time and could look back on less-than-illustrious careers in various anti-Muslim, nationalist or populist right-wing organisations.

Also, they expressed themselves more radically than PEGIDA in Dresden and ultimately faced a much stronger and broader civil society opposition.

That is illustrated quite well by the team behind DÜGIDA, BOGIDA and KÖGIDA in Düsseldorf, Bonn and Cologne. These three cities lie close together. Melanie Dittmer, one of the main organisers, has an activist record dating back to the 1990s when she was engaged in the *Freie Kameradschaften* spectrum of nazi groups. Now, after being off the scene for some years, she re-emerged on the board of

pro-NRW – a right-populist party – and in the so-called Identitarian movement.

Another mainstay, Sebastian Nobile, was active in the Cologne Division of the German Defence League (GDL) until 2013. When Dittmer's and Nobile's mob marched for first time in Düsseldorf on 8 December 2014, they were followed by about 450 supporters but faced down by 1,100 counter-demonstrators. At their second event, held a week later in Bonn, BOGIDA could mobilise only 300 people who found themselves surrounded by more than 2,000 anti-fascists.

Because BOGIDA could not march, Dittmer went ballistic, agitating against the counter-demonstrators by calling them "do-gooders" – presumably she much prefers "do badders". She promised her followers: "Next week we will be more". But, on 22 December, she failed again, the turnout being less than the week before while the number of counter-demonstrators held up. And, again, BOGIDA was prevented from marching.

Resigned, the organisers abandoned Bonn and turned to Cologne; a gross miscalculation: 20,000 counter-demonstrators confronted 200 followers of KÖGIDA. As an anti-KÖGIDA statement, the Bishop of Cologne turned off the lights at the symbol of the city, Cologne Cathedral.

Throughout Germany, this picture continued to appear: ordinary people refusing to surrender the street and public places to the Islam-haters, racists, populists and the extreme-right.

It is their action that has put paid to PEGIDA. They can feel proud. ●

PEGIDA was finally unmasked. The timely anti-PEGIDA message was that even Joseph and Mary would not find a stable in Dresden to give birth to Jesus due to PEGIDA's cold-heartedness.

Thus, 5,000 people turned out against PEGIDA on 22 December. And, at the turn of the year, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel personally intervened. In her "New Year Address" on New Year's Eve, she tellingly appealed to Germans not to follow PEGIDA and their supporters "because," she said, "too often there are prejudices, coldness, yes even hatred in their hearts!"

Importantly, the fact that PEGIDA had hijacked the motto: *Wir sind das Volk* ("We are the people" – a reference



City/town	Date	PEGIDA	Anti-PEGIDA
Dresden/PEGIDA	22/12/14	17,500	5,000
Dresden	05/01/15	10,000	5,000
Dresden	12/01/15	25,000	3,700
Dresden	19/01/15	Cancelled	—
Dresden	25/01/15	17,000	5,000
Dresden	02/02/15	Cancelled	—
Dresden	09/02/15	2,000	400
Dresden	16/02/15	4,300	400
Berlin/Bärgida	05/01/15	300	5,000
Berlin	12/01/15	400	4,000
Berlin	19/01/15	400	4,000
Berlin	26/01/15	150	750
Berlin	02/02/15	150	500
Berlin	09/02/15	200	No counter-demo
Berlin	16/02/15	170	200
Cologne/Kögida	05/01/15	250	20,000
Cologne	14/01/15	200	7,500
Cologne	19/01/15	250	5,000
Cologne	21/01/15	70	1,500
Leipzig/Legida	12/01/15	4,800	35,000
Leipzig	19/01/15	No event	5,000
Leipzig	21/01/15	10,000	20,000
Leipzig	30/01/15	1,400	5,000
Leipzig	09/02/15	Banned/ 100 attend	—
Leipzig	16/02/15	650	2,000
Hanover/Hagida	12/01/15	200	19,000
Hanover	19/01/15	200	18,500
Hanover	26/01/15	150	1,000
Hanover	06/02/15	Cancelled	—
Munich/Mügida	22/12/14	20	12,000
Munich	05/01/15	60	1,500
Munich/Bagida	12/01/15	1,500	20,000
Munich	19/01/15	1,200	12,500
Munich	26/01/15	850	2,000
Munich/Mügida	02/02/15	6	—
Munich/Bagida	02/02/15	250	15,000
Munich	09/02/15	2350	600
Braunschweig/Bragida	19/01/15	250	5,000
Braunschweig	26/01/15	250	2,500
Braunschweig	02/02/15	170	2,500
Braunschweig	09/02/15	150	1,300
Rostock/Rogida	06/12/14	70	300
Rostock	12/01/15	Called off	2,000
Stralsund/MVGIDA	12/01/15	250	300
Stralsund	19/01/15	600	700
Stralsund	02/01/15	100	500 est.
Dusseldorf/Dügida	08/12/15	450	1,100
Düsseldorf	12/01/15	350	5,000
Düsseldorf	19/01/15	160	1,000
Düsseldorf	26/01/15	110	600
Düsseldorf	02/02/15	60	500
Düsseldorf	09/02/15	100	500
Kiel	27/01/15	No demo	11,000 anti-PEGIDA
Schwerin/PEGIDA	12/01/15	350	1,000
Schwerin/MVGIDA	26/01/15	500	500
Schwerin	09/02/15	250	450
Suhl/Sügida	12/01/15	500	750
Suhl	19/01/15	1,000	500
Suhl	26/01/15	1,000	600



## PEGIDA fails to spread

ATTEMPTS BY ISLAMOPHOBES to initiate PEGIDA-style movements in other European countries have spectacularly failed.

About 350 Pegida supporters were stopped in their tracks at an "anti-Islamisation" march in Vienna. Earlier, a 4,500-strong anti-PEGIDA demonstration moved through Vienna's centre to send a clear anti-racist signal.

A huge chunk of the PEGIDA

crowd was composed of nazi activists from the Identitarian movement, pan-Germanist fraternity members, far right hooligan groups and Freedom Party (FPÖ) politicians like Martin Graf.

After the flop, PEGIDA's uncharismatic spokesperson, Georg Immanuel Nagel, stepped down, announcing that the group will refocus on communicating via its Facebook site.

The first anti-Islam march in Denmark was held on 5 January in Haderslev near the German border, organised by Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark (SIAD) under the leadership of Anders Gravers who had announced a "demonstration tour around Denmark". The event gathered just 40 people. A fortnight later, another demonstration in Esbjerg attracted only 50 people.

Parallel to SIAD, former Danish People's Party (DPP) member Nicolai Sennels initiated pegida.

dk demonstrations in Copenhagen and Aarhus but the numbers attending were equally derisory.

PEGIDA Norway has managed to get its German mother organisation PEGIDA to kick out its rival, PEGIDA Norge, from PEGIDA.

Confused? The far right in Norway, living up to its best traditions of in-fighting over who has the right to use the name PEGIDA, has wrecked any chance of establishing a Norwegian sister organisation to the German anti-Muslim movement.





City/town	Date	PEGIDA	Anti-PEGIDA
Saarbrücken/Saargida	12/01/15	300	9,000
Saarbrücken	26/01/15	100	1,000
Duisburg/PEGIDA NRW	19/01/15	600	4,000
Duisburg	26/01/15	300	1,000
Duisburg	02/02/15	170	300
Duisburg	9/02/15	100	300
Hamburg	12/01/15	No demo	4,000 anti-PEGIDA
Hameln/Hamgida	19/01/15	Cancelled	950
Flensburg	19/01/15	No demo	3,000
Kassel/Kagida	01/12/14	60	500
Kassel	08/12/14	80	500
Kassel	15/12/14	160	—
Kassel	22/12/14	200	2,000
Kassel	29/12/14	180	130
Kassel	05/01/15	200	250
Kassel	12/01/15	150	500
Kassel	19/01/15	200	600
Kassel	26/01/15	120	300
Kassel	01/02/15	56	2,000 on 02/02/
Kassel	09/02/15	30	40
Kassel	16/02/15	74	150
Magdeburg/Magida	19/01/15	600	7,000
Magdeburg	26/01/15	800	2,000
Magdeburg	09/02/15	450	850
Magdeburg	16/02/15	400	850
Würzburg/Wügida	08/12/14	50	250
Würzburg	15/12/14	100	400
Würzburg	22/12/14	200	700
Würzburg	05/01/15	300	1,500
Würzburg	12/01/15	250	1,500
Würzburg	19/01/15	300	1,200
Würzburg	02/02/15	130	500
Würzburg	09/02/15	100	300
Wiesbaden/PEGIDA	19/01/15	No demo	10,000 anti-PEGIDA
Bielefeld	19/01/15	No demo	10,000 anti-PEGIDA
Nuremberg	19/01/15	No demo	2,700 anti-PEGIDA
Nuremberg/Nügida	16/02/15	150	1,500
Freiburg im Breisgau	23/01/15	No demo	20,000 anti-PEGIDA
Norheim/Norgida	19/01/15	Failed to show up	300
Giessen/PEGIDA	25/01/15	30	700
Villingen-Schwenningen/PEGIDA	26/01/15	80	1,200
Frankfurt am Main/Fragida	26/01/15	100	16,000
Frankfurt am Main	02/02/15	60	1,200
Frankfurt am Main	09/02/15	110	1,000
Chemnitz/Cegida	09/02/15	500	1,000
Chemnitz	16/02/15	250	250
Brandenburg an der Havel/PEGIDA	09/02/15	80	250
Brandenburg/BRAMM	16/02/15	60	50
Bonn/Bogida	15/12/14	200	1,500
Bonn	22/12/14	300	2,000
Altdorf/PEGIDA	12/01/14	28	700

Former navy commander Max Hermansen launched the first PEGIDA march in Oslo on 12 January, gathering 190 people – the biggest march of the Norwegian extreme right since the German army was defeated in 1945.

Even before the march, tensions between Hermansen's PEGIDA and former head of the Norwegian Defence League (NDL), Ronny Alte, were obvious.

Alte had established a Facebook group called PEGIDA Norway,

while Hermansen called his outfit PEGIDA Norge.

All unity attempts failed as Hermansen saw his weekly marches get fewer and fewer followers from 190 to 106 to 46 to 26.

Swedish media devoted live coverage to PEGIDA's first demonstration in Malmö on 9 February after a Facebook group called PEGIDA Sweden announced that PEGIDA had arrived, boasting "We are the people". "The people" in this case were the, at most, ten

people who showed up. Members of the PEGIDA Sweden leadership have called Africans "apes" on social media.

A PEGIDA-style march was called in Paris for 18 January by Riposte Laïque and Réseau identités, a splinter faction of Bloc identitaire, together with the support of the Jewish Defence League. Officially, the demonstration was banned by the authorities because of the Islamist terror attacks just days before.

In fact, the real reason for the

ban was that nazi hooligans from the Milice Paris and Commando Loubard groups were planning to take part. Given their shocking record of physical violence and the anti-Muslim feelings aroused by the attacks, a ban was imposed and upheld by the State Higher Administrative Court.

● **Research by Martin Jordan (Vienna), Jean-Yves Camus (Paris), Daniel Vergara (Sweden), Anne Jessen (Copenhagen) and Tor Bach (Oslo).**



# A nest of vipers

**As election fever ramps up, Simon Cressy takes a look at one of UKIP's loudest supporters online – Breitbart London.**

**U**KIP is the unknown factor in the 2015 general election, and the predictions of various media outlets vary greatly. Some newspapers predict UKIP will become a kingmaker whilst others suggest Nigel Farage and co. will turn out to be little more than the proverbial flash in the pan. We will find out sooner rather than later.

Whatever the outcome, UKIP leader Farage and his propaganda machine are working overtime, attempting (with some degree of success) to grab as much favourable media coverage as possible.

In the mainstream press, the *Daily Express* has become UKIP's primary mouthpiece, with owner Richard Desmond donating over £300,000 to Farage and his party, not to mention almost unfettered and uncritical coverage in the political pages of his right-wing newspaper.

Online, the propaganda game is very different for UKIP, with one name right in the foreground when it comes to promoting the party and its Eurosceptic message.

The Breitbart News Network is a right-wing news website formed in 2007 by the late American conservative publisher and darling of The Tea Party movement, Andrew Breitbart.

Breitbart died suddenly of heart failure at the age of 43 in 2012. His legacy was the Breitbart website and, in 2014, a Breitbart site was launched in London in parallel with its US counterpart.

Executive editor, James Delingpole, runs Breitbart London. An acerbic columnist and well-known climate change sceptic, Delingpole is also a UKIP member and put his name forward to stand as a UKIP candidate for the European elections in 2014. However, he was rejected at the interview stage and deemed unsuitable.

The abrasive Delingpole was forced to apologise to fellow journalist

Suzanne Moore in 2013 after making a sexist comment – which alluded to her being raped – to her on Twitter in support of his friend Toby Young. Moore subsequently rejected his apology.

Breitbart's managing editor in London was originally Raheem Kassam. With his fingers in many pies, Kassam was an organiser for The Tea Party in the UK and has been Campaigns Director at the neo-Conservative Henry Jackson Society since 2010.

Formerly a Conservative, Kassam also used to be the executive editor of *The Commentator*, a political news and commentary website linked to the Henry Jackson Society. He was sacked by them in 2013 for gross and extreme misconduct following a fall-out with The Commentator's owner Robin Shepherd.

The feud between Kassam and Shepherd continues today with the pair still engaged in a bitter and ongoing war of words on Twitter.

A controversial figure, Kassam has been variously described as "troublesome", "wildly self-important" and as "a professional wind-up merchant".

He outraged members of the ethnic minorities by backing racial profiling, claiming that the security services should be allowed to single out those who look as if they might follow Islam, on the grounds they are more likely to be involved in terrorism. In an article, he said: "Once people who look like me stop blowing themselves up, then I'll get upset at being profiled. Not before."

On another occasion, after being accused on social media of "flirting with anti-Muslim bigotry", he responded: "I'm a flirtatious kind of guy."

Kassam left Breitbart in October 2014 and became a senior aide to Farage.

A quick search for UKIP articles on the Breitbart website reveals that a large number of recent stories uploaded is by Beatrice Sanderson.

A relatively unknown name to most people, we can reveal that Beatrice Sanderson is really an alias for Annabelle Fuller, former UKIP press officer.

This is the same Annabelle Fuller that is currently the subject of a Metropolitan Police investigation following claims made by the former UKIP spin-doctor that she was groped on the balcony of the Westminster flat belonging to the Tory MP Andrew Bridgen.

The North West Leicestershire MP was held in police custody for 10 hours and had his fingerprints and DNA taken. However, police investigating the matter soon established that there was no case and even less evidence and the focus has now been switched onto Fuller, with the prospect of her prosecution for perverting the course of justice should the case against the press officer be proven.

The Metropolitan Police confirmed they interviewed Fuller under caution at the start of 2015 and told the media: "The Metropolitan Police received information relating to an alleged false claim of sexual assault. The man who was the subject of the allegedly false claim was informed that this has now moved forward into a formal police investigation."

Bridgen says that the case has wrecked his marriage and has left him with limited access to his young children.

Breitbart London's European correspondent is Donna Edmunds, a name very familiar to UKIP watchers. Edmunds is a UKIP councillor on Lewes District Council and is the founder and editor of UKIPDaily.com.

Edmunds, who was also a European candidate in the South East region for UKIP, was forced to issue a grovelling apology last year after she made comments online where she said that business owners should have the right to be able to refuse service to homosexuals and women.





(top) Andrew Breitbart  
(below left to right)  
James Delingpole,  
Raheem Kassam and  
Donna Edmunds

She said: "I believe that all business owners, Christian, Muslim, gay, straight, should be allowed to withhold their services from whomever they choose whenever they choose. It's their business. Why should they be forced to serve or sell to anyone...I'm a libertarian so I don't think the state should have a role in who business owners serve."

However, Edmunds received a "slapping down" from her own party chairman, Steve Crowther, who said: "Whilst we are a libertarian party this kind of ultra-libertarianism really goes beyond what is acceptable."

"Society", he said, "has to have rules and it is certainly not UKIP's policy to allow people to refuse service to each other on the grounds of race, sexuality etc. This debate has been unhelpful. It is a matter that will be discussed by our NEC."

Edmunds is no stranger to controversy, especially in connection with posting comments online. In 2011, she was forced to resign her role as lead councillor for communications in Lewes

after she called one of her constituents a "village idiot" on social media. She also received criticism after telling another of her constituents to "pay your taxes to die of cancer if that's what you want" during an online row about the NHS.

Another regular on Breitbart London is Tom Bursnall, a UKIP NEC member and councillor, who sits on Windsor and Maidenhead council. Bursnall hit the headlines after he claimed that the rich should be entitled to more than one vote as they pay more tax.

Writing on his blog, Bursnall asked: "Should people on benefits be allowed to vote? It would be terribly 'unfair' of you to give equal representation rights to the chap who contributes 50 times more than the next person. In the same way as if you own 60% of shares of a company, you'll get 60% of the voting rights at the Annual General Meeting."

Another controversial name on the Breitbart London roster is chief political correspondent, Andre Walker. Once a high flier in the Conservative Party and

former chief of staff to David Morris MP, Walker was forced to resign his position of political advisor at the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead after he was recorded plotting a smear campaign against his Tory colleague, Alison Knight, the council's deputy leader.

Walker's conversation was recorded by a fellow passenger on a London commuter train that he was travelling on and uploaded to YouTube.

A number of UKIP officials regularly contribute pro-UKIP articles to Breitbart London including Paul Nuttall MEP, Jane Collins MEP and Michael Heaver. Other names of note include: Nick Hallett, a former Research Fellow from the Young Britons' Foundation, Ben Harris-Quinney, chairman of The Bow Group, and Alex Wickham from the Guido Fawkes blog.

With so much UKIP/right wing influence, Breitbart London has become the party's voice on the internet.

It's just not a voice I would want to pay any attention to. ●



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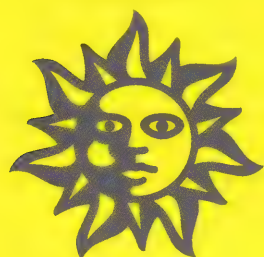


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# Going Purple?

**With the General Election just a few weeks away, *Nick Lowles* assesses what success and failure will mean for UKIP and how this will impact on the politics of this country.**

**A**fter a year of rapid growth, electoral success and media attention, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) goes into the General Election in buoyant mood.

It has defied all predictions by maintaining its strong showing in the opinion polls and successes in recent by-elections have left the party believing a major political breakthrough is on the cards.

Success for UKIP can be measured on several levels. Its primary goal will be to win parliamentary seats, which will allow the party to claim continued momentum going into the future.

However, because of the voting system, which continues to favour a two-party setup, the gains are likely to be small.

Much more exciting for UKIP, though, is the prospect of holding the balance of power and so forcing an EU referendum vote in return for its support.

UKIP is also looking beyond May's vote and will be hoping

that a big vote, coupled with substantial local council gains, will make them the natural opposition to the Conservatives in the south and Labour in the north.

This will then act as a springboard for major advances in local government in the 2016 and 2017 local elections and, even, possibly taking control of some councils.

So, just what are UKIP's chances?

UKIP has consistently attracted 14-16% in opinion polls and constituency polling puts

it on course to win a number of parliamentary seats.

Its best prospect is Douglas Carswell retaining his seat in Clacton, Essex. He is a well-liked local MP and the demographics of his constituency are the most favourable to UKIP of any in the country.

A much more difficult contest will be in Rochester and Strood, the other parliamentary seat it won in a by-election late last year. While the current UKIP MP was previously the Conservative MP, the demographics of his constituents

are far less favourable to UKIP and, as a result, the seat should go blue in the General Election.

UKIP's next best targets are other Essex seats, principally Thurrock, neighbouring South Basildon and East Thurrock and Castle Point.

Constituency polling in Thurrock has put UKIP's Tim Aker 4-8% ahead of Labour for most of the last nine months, with the Conservatives only a few points behind.

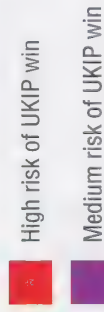
A constituency poll, conducted by Lord Ashcroft in mid-February, puts UKIP just six points behind the Conservatives in South Basildon and East Thurrock but internal party conflict over the selection of a candidate could see party renegade Kerry Smith stand as an independent and take votes off UKIP.

A much better prospect is in Castle Point where another Ashcroft poll, again carried out last month, puts UKIP just one point behind the Conservatives. There is also a real danger of the party taking control of the council after it made a





# 30 seats to watch



1. **THANET SOUTH** UKIP leader Nigel Farage is standing here but it is by no means certain that he will win
2. **THURROCK** UKIP's Tim Aker, who is also an MEP and local councillor, leads by between 4-7% from Labour in this three-way marginal
3. **CLACTON** Hard to see UKIP MP Douglas Carswell losing his seat
4. **CASTLE POINT** Despite being a strong Tory seat, the demographics are perfect for UKIP and the party could take control of the council in deal with Independents
5. **LUTON SOUTH** Labour's Gavin Shuker is facing a strong Muslim independent candidate and Liberty GB leader Paul Weston
6. **GREAT YARMOUTH** A key Labour target seat, it is now a very close three-way marginal
7. **DAGENHAM & RAINHAM** Labour's Jon Cruddas could be facing a strong UKIP vote due to the absence of a Tory campaign and the impact of IER
8. **SOUTHAMPTON ITCHEN** UKIP could take enough votes off Labour to hand the seat to the Conservatives
9. **PLYMOUTH MOOR VIEW** Latest polling puts UKIP just 5% behind Labour in this key marginal
10. **FOREST OF DEAN** UKIP will be hoping to translate its very strong showing in local elections in this safe Tory seat held by former immigration Minister Mark Harper
11. **DUDLEY NORTH** A very tight fight between Labour's Ian Austen and UKIP's Bill Etheridge, who has led the bitter opposition to the proposal Dudley mosque
12. **WALSALL NORTH** Polling suggests UKIP are comfortably in second place, just 7% behind Labour
13. **NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME** UKIP will be pushing hard in this very tight marginal. It already has several local councillors in the area
14. **CANNOCK CHASE** A three-way marginal between the Conservatives, Labour and UKIP. Could be a surprise result
15. **BOSTON & SKEGNESS** UKIP will be hoping to take this traditionally strong Conservative seat. UKIP finished 11% ahead of the Tories in the 2013 county council elections and will be helped by the decision of the incumbent MP to stand down
16. **GREAT GRIMSBY** Only 1% divides Labour and





UKIP in this tight marginal in a seat vacated by Labour's veteran Eurosceptic Austin Mitchell

**17. ROTHERHAM** UKIP's Jane Collins is hoping to exploit the 'grooming' scandal and the disintegration of Labour's credibility locally to unseat Sarah Champion. However the Labour MP has earned a lot of respect for taking on the issue

**18. ROTHER VALLEY** A straight fight between Labour and UKIP in this former mining constituency.

**19. HALIFAX** An already strong UKIP challenge will have been enhanced by arrests of 25 Muslim men for 'grooming' and the decision of the MP to stand down

**20. HEYWOOD & MIDDLETON** UKIP lost the Parliamentary by-election by just 617 votes last autumn and this seat is its NW priority

**21. BURNLEY** Labour should take the seat from the Lib Dems but UKIP could come second and so create a strong base for future elections

**22. HARTLEPOOL** UKIP won several seats here last year and will hoping to come a strong second

**23. SITTINGBOURNE AND SHEPPEY** UKIP finished 7% above the Tories in the 2013 council elections and will be hoping for an upset here

**24. AYLESBURY** UKIP beat the Tories in 2013 county council elections here and will be hoping to capitalise on local opposition to HS2

**25. BRADFORD SOUTH** UKIP is likely to get a far higher vote here than many expect due to MP standing down and disarray in Labour Party.

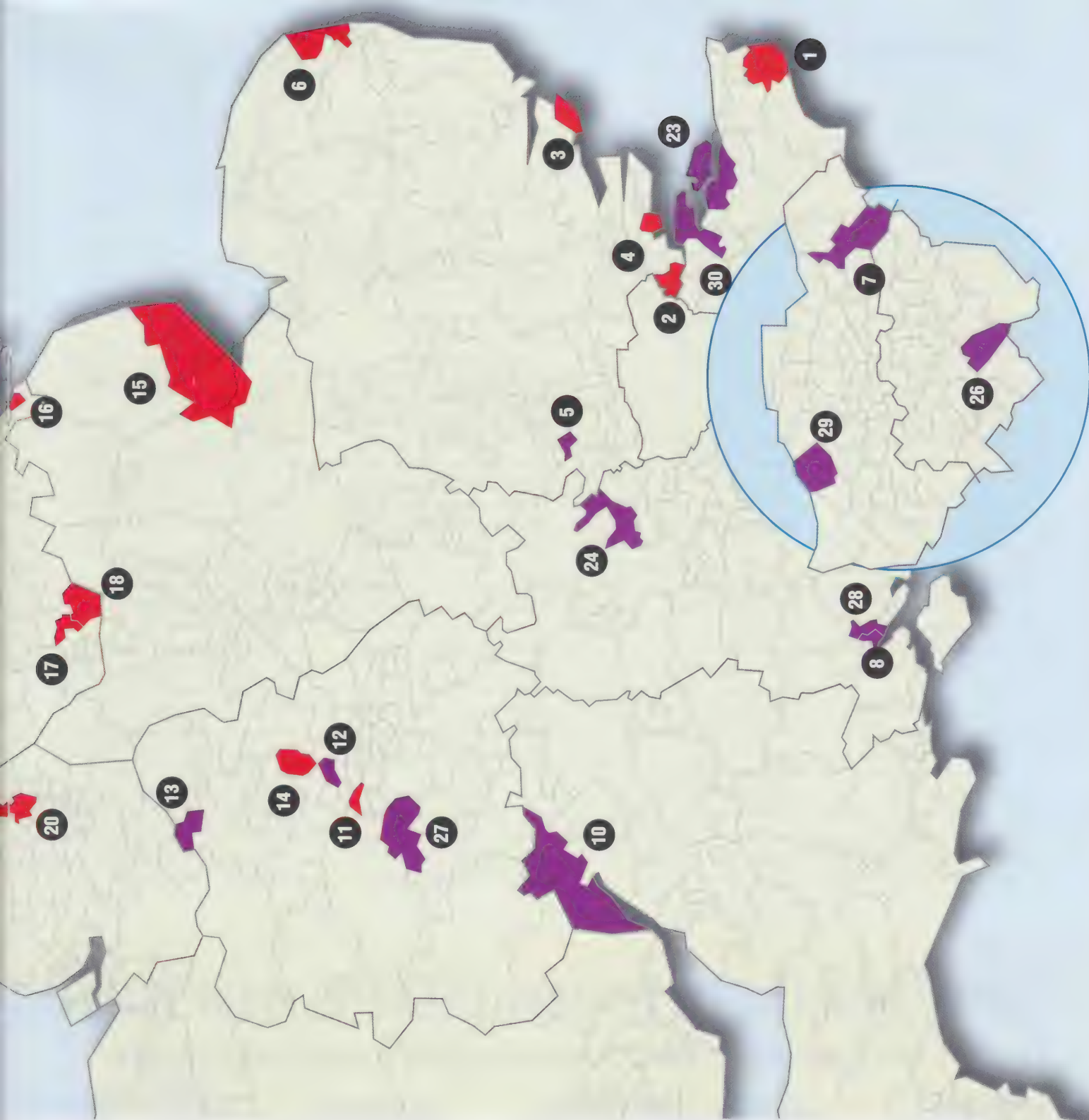
**26. CROYDON CENTRAL** A strong UKIP vote could Labour win the seat from moderate Tory Gavin Barwell

**27. WYRE FOREST** Polling puts UKIP just 5% behind the Conservatives

**28. EASTLEIGH** UKIP came within 1,000 votes of winning this seat in a parliamentary by-election in 2013 but it appears that support for the Lib Dems locally is strong

**29. HARROW EAST** UKIP's support, currently at 13%, appears to be primarily at the expense of Labour and could cost it the chance of winning the seat

**30. ROCHESTER & STROOD** UKIP won this seat late last year but it might find it hard to retain the seat





power-sharing deal with an Independent group.

UKIP had its highest share of the vote in the European Elections in Boston, Lincolnshire, where it polled 51% of the vote. This year, it will be seeking to overturn a huge Conservative majority and Ashcroft's latest poll puts it just three points behind. This will be a major upset in a traditionally strong Conservative area.

Its key Labour targets are Grimsby and Dudley North and Lord Ashcroft's polling puts them neck and neck in both. Grimsby fits the demographic pattern of an economically depressed former fishing town while, in Dudley North, local candidate and West Midlands MEP Bill Etheridge will be hoping to exploit tensions over a mosque planning application that has divided the town for several years.

UKIP will also be looking to exploit the fallout of the Rotherham grooming scandal though, for some unknown reason, it is prioritising the Rotherham constituency rather than neighbouring Rother Valley, where the demographics

better suit the party.

Down in the South West, UKIP will be the main challengers to Labour in Plymouth Moor View, with Ashcroft's polling putting them just 5% behind Labour in this three-way marginal.

There might also be one or two surprises, with UKIP likely to do extremely well in Cannock Chase and Newcastle-Under-Lyme, both now three-way marginals.

Of maybe greater concern for the main parties is the effect UKIP might have on the outcome of dozens of key marginal seats. UKIP attracts more people who voted Conservative in 2010 than Labour and this has led to some short-sighted glee amongst Labour strategists and has also partly explained its failure to take on the anti-immigrant party.

However, there are some areas where UKIP is clearly taking more votes off Labour and this could hand the seats to the Conservatives. Among these are Southampton Itchen, Dudley North and even Harrow East, where the UKIP vote appears to be primarily coming from traditionally strong Labour areas.

There are perhaps ten seats that UKIP really has a chance of winning, with most political analysts believing the party will gain between three and six.

While this is insignificant in the wider scheme of things, it might just be enough to hold the balance of power which, of course, would greatly inflate its importance.

Perhaps the most interesting contest will be in Thanet South, where party leader Nigel Farage is standing. UKIP is hoping that his high media profile, coupled with the decision to hold its spring conference in the area, will propel him to victory. However, the latest constituency polling puts Farage second, behind the Conservatives, and there is growing unease within UKIP that their leader might fall short.

This will not only be an embarrassment for the party's talisman but could also open the party up to a leadership challenge.

Receiving much less attention is the threat UKIP poses in the local elections. After two consecutive years of great success, UKIP goes

into this round of local elections in enthusiastic mood, believing that another strong showing will give it an excellent platform for even greater success over the next two years.

HOPE not hate has identified 412 council seats at risk to UKIP, which we have defined as wards that UKIP has won in the past or require less than a 5% swing to win or have specific local factors.

While it is simply unrealistic to expect UKIP to win all these seats, especially because the turnout in May will be substantially higher than in recent local elections, failure to win at least 150 will be a setback.

It will be looking to do especially well in Essex, Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire.

UKIP will also be hoping to see a political breakthrough in Greater Manchester and the North East, both areas where it polled well last year without winning more than a handful of seats.

It will be hoping to do especially well in Rochdale (where it will also be fighting hard in the Heywood and Middleton constituency

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in the General Election), Oldham and Bolton. In the North East, it will be hoping to do well in Hartlepool and neighbouring Middlesbrough, where there is also a mayoral contest.

The party should really be looking to make a breakthrough in Stoke-on-Trent where demographics fit the UKIP voter profile well and the BNP has done well in the past but, strangely, the party has little organisation on the ground.

So, if UKIP are on course just to win a handful of seats why, then, should we be worried?

UKIP's threat is not in the number of seats it can win but its effect on the wider political debate. Once again, UKIP is focusing heavily on immigration and multiculturalism and, with its use of provocative language and scare tactics, it will whip up fear and hatred between communities and give encouragement to racists to speak out more openly.

Nigel Farage's outburst at Muslims being "the enemy within" and making comparisons with a "fifth column" following the Paris

terror attacks, coupled with outlandish comments about Muslims creating "no-go" zones, clearly shows the perniciousness of his mind and his willingness to exploit any racial and religious tension for political gain.

More worryingly, if the past year is anything to go by, the mainstream parties will respond to the threat of UKIP by running to the right on immigration themselves even though the evidence suggests that the vast majority of

people object to UKIP's position.

UKIP will also be hoping that a strong showing this year will help force the next government to call a vote on Britain's membership of the European Union. This, of course, will be its central demand if it holds the balance of power after the election but, even before, UKIP will hope that its threat will force Conservative MPs both to take a harder line on Europe (and the free

movement of people) and commit to a vote in 2016.

Polling has shown that UKIP's rise might be good for the party in the short-term but damages its long-term goal of getting Britain out of the EU. The more exposure UKIP gets and the more people see it as a threat, the greater the number of people who are willing both to support membership of the EU and view immigration positively. UKIP is the new political Marmite – people love it or (increasingly) loathe it. The more attention it receives, the more it polarises society.

HOPE not hate is running its most sophisticated and targeted campaign ever with our aims being to limit UKIP's success in the general election and give people who object to its racist scaremongering the tools to fight back.

In the process of our campaigning, we hope to build local networks that can challenge the politics of fear in local communities over the next few years.

Will HOPE or hate win out in May? We will know very soon.

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# Young, Nazi and



National Action takes to the hills



# nd Dangerous

**Matthew Collins explores National Action, the new kids who are taking the British far right by storm**

"I'M NOT A LUNATIC for embracing martyrdom, I've just accepted that I could be more use in death than life. People need a reason to fight."

These are not the last written words of a young Islamist wannabe martyr, but a statement by Garron Helm, a 21-year-old nazi from Liverpool, earlier this month.

When Helm was imprisoned last year for sending antisemitic hate messages to Liverpool MP Luciana Berger, his colleagues and supporters in the tiny group National Action (NA) rubbed their hands with glee.

His conviction was met with one of the most intensive and sinister antisemitic hate campaigns in recent British history and the resulting publicity was a fitting climax to a year of activity and antagonism and, importantly, part of a wider strategy to become the dominant and most ideologically pure force on the British far right.

For a group that boasted only a couple of dozen activists at the beginning of the year, NA had planted itself on the map.

The origins of the small but increasingly significant group lay in the ruins of the British National Party and in discussion clubs outside the party that came together to discuss the future of the British far right.

A forerunner to NA was the English National Resistance (ENR), led by former BNP youth leader Kieren Trent, with the help of another former BNP organiser, Matthew Tait.

The ENR was to be short-lived after Trent was beaten to a pulp by BNP activists before rather desperately and stupidly trying to join the IRA on the steps of Conway Hall in London.

At the same time, some of the self-defined "intellectuals" on the British

far right, many of whom had been marginalised for many years, began to gather in London pubs to pontificate on the future direction of the movement.

The focal point for these discussions was to be the New Right, led by former BNP officer Jonathan Bowden and Troy Southgate. It was Southgate who formed the New Right in 2005 after being influenced by The "Manifesto for a European Renaissance", which had been written by Frenchmen Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier in 1999. The move was part of his own trek through the far right that saw him paying visits to the National Front, the International Third Position, Brown Anarchism and National Bolshevism.

The two men were joined in organising New Right meetings by Jeremy Bedford Turner, a former violent National Front activist who went on to be an officer in the Royal Corps of Signals, becoming fluent in Pashtun and other tribal Afghani languages.

Southgate and Bedford-Turner were eventually to fall out and the latter went off in the huff to form the IONA London Forum (Islands of the North Atlantic), which had similar goals and audiences. He was joined in organising it by Larry Nunn, a financial adviser and a former BNP organiser who began the Internet discussion group Western Springs and various fora – together with the Traditional Britain Group – that became cultural hothouses for race haters, fantasists, political adventurers and other fascist riff-raff.

Following developments closely was Bognor Regis-based Ben Raymond, who had set up the Integralist Party, an outfit based on *Action française*, a French far right movement established in 1899 as





a nationalist reaction to the influence of left-wing intellectuals and in opposition to the secularist, republican legacy of the French Revolution.

A vicious antisemite and future double glazing salesman, 23-year-old Raymond spent several years exploring and expanding on his political beliefs through a series of websites and social media discussion pages.

At the same time, Alex Davies, a Welsh schoolboy who had been a member of the British National Party's youth wing, began agitating on social media against the BNP's economic policies.

The duo agreed that the BNP was finished and what was needed was a new movement.

"Only a movement of strength lives in appreciation for the task of survival and the victory that will come," Raymond wrote. "Only when you establish a power relationship with your enemies do you exist in a state of struggle and have any bargaining power...Our people don't think emotionally or spiritually in that way, for us, strategy is a matter of constitution, of numbers, opportunities, and most of all strength, in relation to the adversary - what I propose is coming to the game with a game (sic) plan to inspire the confidence we need."

Raymond was drawn to inciting online conflict with anarchists, with whom, like Southgate, he felt he shared some strained idealism.

In Davies, a younger, more restrained but serious character with an extraordinary belief in his own intellectual and leadership capabilities,

Raymond found a confident fellow traveller.

They agreed that, for a new movement to succeed, the old nationalist established had to be destroyed and simply divided up the fractured British far right into simple "good" and "bad" camps.

The "good" 'nationalists' were experienced stalwarts, like those around the group that would become the British Democratic Party (BDP); the "flawed" included the likes of John Tyndall, the National Front, Blood & Honour and Oswald Mosley.

Added to that were the far right discussion clubs like the New Right and London Forum.

The experience and knowledge of these groups and their members were considered useful for new recruits while the "bad" groups, like the BNP and the drunken and pro-Zionist EDL, had to be swept aside. In 2014, at a demonstration in Rotherham to protest about the grooming scandal, NA physically clashed with the EDL and came off second best.

Ultimately though, for Raymond, the "struggle" boiled down to one of a war against Judaism.

By the time, Raymond and Davies decided to form NA late in 2012 the pair had already started on its manifesto. Raymond's idealism drew heavily on the National Renaissance Party, a fascist party in the US that enjoyed thirty turbulent and violent years until 1980 and on Raymond's other obsession with the obscure Sebastian Ernst Ronin of the modern party with a similar name in Canada.

From the beginning, NA's leaders saw the need to be the centre of attention in terms of content, activity and style. In an interview with an American Holocaust denial website last year, Davies talks of the need for witty cartoons, humour and a distinctive style and clothing to attract everyone from "Goths, skins, punks."

Attracting headlines was one focus of their work but so were generating antagonisms with other groups (in particular, the National Front) and those of similar stated political ilk but who are ideologically "impure", the exclusion of petty nationalists tied to the idea of protecting domestic borders from other whites, people who take drink or drugs (like the EDL and the NF) and, ultimately, those incapable of advancing the cause.

The group established a series of blogs and a website that was virulently antisemitic but which also encouraged others to undertake tasks, like a building project for a white homeland.

The new organisation prided itself on being secure, confident and brash and outrageous.

In Feb 2013, in the first of a series of recorded discussions, Raymond entertained Davies and former BNP youth organiser Danny Lake on a skype conference call. Raymond became so weighed down by droning on about his favourite obscurities and showing a astonishingly bleak knowledge of the modern British far right that so exhausted and traumatised Lake that he quit fascism altogether.

Raymond's demands were that a movement he had very little contact



with or actual understanding of, be swept clean of gossips. He also, bizarrely, bemoaned the lack of an "officer class" in the British far right, a view more in keeping with Mosleyism than the Young BNP from which NA hoped to recruit.

An impatient Davies responded almost immediately by naming Larry Nunn as their "Mr Fix It". "He's got the money, he's got the vision, he's got the ideas", Davies chirped excitedly.

In September 2013, Raymond launched the National Action website and introduced the organisation as an exciting new project "which has promising foundation, backing, and willing organisers".

One of the latter was Paul Hickman, the former BNP organiser for Birmingham, who acted as the conduit for Davies into the New Right and the London Forum and made the introductions to Nunn.

Davies, meanwhile, like many others on the British far right, was particularly excited by the Greek nazi party Golden Dawn and, in November 2013, he and other NA activists travelled to London to meet up with Young BNP members for both the NF Remembrance Sunday parade and a demonstration in support of Golden Dawn.

In London, despite their best efforts to appear invincible the group were forced to drop their banners and run when confronted by anti-fascists outside the Greek embassy.

In 2014, NA moved away from the need for intellectualism and demanded the group became "brutes". Having spent the previous six months engaging in low-level stunts like actions on campuses and in city centres, this new phase centred around increased violence and tension.

Certainly for a group that has fewer than sixty committed adherents, it has achieved inflated and sensationalist press coverage for little more than political pouting.

In April 2014, Raymond folded the Integralist Party and set about unveiling Stage Two of his plan, which was to make NA a confrontational group and to become more combative towards other far right groups, in particular the National Front. Raymond also sought to cut ties with the New Right and the London Forum.

"The value of what I have to offer is based on the fact that during those five years, with my own efforts and those of many others, I have seen a doomed non-movement of complacent sentiments and autism already rise to become an exciting new interpretation of nationalism which is alive and now accepted by thousands of young new converts."



# #FreeGarronHelm

## "Operation Filthy Jew Bitch"

THE CONVICTION of National Action member Garron Helm for sending offensive Tweets to Labour MP Luciana Berger last October sparked one of the most intensive and unpleasant online antisemitic campaigns ever.

Helm's imprisonment triggered "Operation Filthy Jew Bitch" whereby the MP was inundated with hate messages from across the globe.

Twitter told HOPE not hate that they had not experienced anything like it.

The hate campaign was driven by the American Nazi website, The Daily Stormer.

Amidst several disgusting antisemitic images, the website encouraged its supporters to target the Labour MP.

While it told people not to advocate violence, it did encourage the following:

"Call her a Jew, call her a Jew communist, call her a terrorist, call her a filthy Jew bitch. Call her a hook-nosed yid and a ratfaced kike. Tell her we do not want her in the UK, we do not want her or any other Jew anywhere in Europe. Tell her to go to Israel and call for her deportation to said Jew state.

"Do it over, and over, and over and over again.

"Tell her that "#HitlerWasRight," and then tell her that six million more times.

"Flood her with these images (or make some of your own)."

Luciana received 20 death threats and over 2,000 hate Tweets directed at her.

National Action followed up the online campaign with a demonstration outside her constituency office in Liverpool at which police arrested 12 NA activists and then raided the homes of ten of them.

In a sign of the growing militancy within National Action, Helm has been strongly abused by fellow members for having apologised to Luciana. This, however, could be worrying as it might propel Helm into some extremist stunt in order to regain his reputation within the group.







Self-promoting and hating

We alone have survived having outlived and seen off every other rival contender which have all dropped out into bleak obscurity; To name them, The National Anarchists, The anti-racist fascists, National Bolsheviks, the New Right, and various other grouplets with no successors (sic), they exist today only as an embarrassing memory."

Meanwhile, Davies was busy trying to recruit what was left of the Young BNP in response for Griffin's defeat in the European Elections and his subsequent removal as leader.

With its on-going publicity NA was attracting new members and this in turn enabled it to carry out one major activity per month. In addition, members were also encouraged to "agitate" in their own recreational time.

The day after Raymond announced the Integralist Party was finished, 20 NA/BNP activists held a protest outside of the South African embassy in London, where among other things, they stuck a banana on the Nelson Mandela statue down the road in Parliament Square.

This action was, however, nothing compared with the BNP members who had actually taken hammers to the Mandela statue on London's South Bank or the physical attack on anti-Apartheid activists by the National Front in the late 1980s.

Emboldened by media coverage of the group's activities, NA entered 2015 by declaring on its website that it "will be another year of carnage" and an "even worse year for ZOG" (Zionist Occupied Government).

It was helped by an influx of new recruits from other far right groups who were little more than violent racist thugs and it was not long before many began getting involved in acts of violence.

Mark Jones and Kevin Layzell from the Young BNP joined NA as did Ashley Bell from Leeds, a fitness fanatic who was



behind an attempt to form a 'Straight Edge' movement in the UK.

Using the name Tommy Johnson, Bell had a history with both the EDL and the NF but had fallen out with them both, the latter in turn accusing him of theft.

Others to have got involved included former "Klanman" Darren Clift and internet stalker Joshua Bonehill, both with the ability to shock and offend. Clift had the other advantage of being a kickboxing instructor.

Recruits to the "movement" are regularly grilled by Paul Hickman, who also doubles as Davies' bodyguard and chauffeur. Hickman also hosts long and virtually unbearable skype talks with Davies on his own website, which highlights NA's absolute devotion to National Socialism and its complete lack of real understanding of what it is.

In August 2014, full of confidence and growing in bravado, NA produced a report into its own activities, proudly boasting: "In the six months since our first public demonstration National Action has succeeded in turning a web based idea into an authentic real world organisation."

It went on to give a blow-by-blow account of its past activities and signalled that it was entering a more militant and daring phase: "Commentators on the left are so shocked that as of yet none of them believe we are actually for real... One thing that can be depended on is the rock solid stupidity of many in overestimating their abilities and

intelligence – it is these people who cannot 'get it'."

The group became immersed in mixed martial arts, largely under the guidance of one of its supporters, a martial arts instructor from Middleton in Greater Manchester, and headed to the hills for training and education seminars.

Additionally, it confronted an EDL march in Rotherham, partly because of old animosities between individuals within both groups but also because NA objected to the waving of the Israeli flag by EDL supporters.

NA came off worse but at least they fought back, due to the efforts of Wayne Jarvie, a Leeds-based thug with a penchant for knives and guns.

The outdoor camps, much to the delight of its leaders, created a lot of media interest in NA and this only strengthened their conviction that 2015 would see them become the dominant force on the British far right.

The group has since begun to adopt an even more hardline approach, with increasingly open and quite disgusting displays of antisemitism and violence.

Jarvie and others now advocate openly murdering Jews whilst Helm, their "Horst Wessell", is derided and criticised for writing an apology to Luciana Berger.

Davies stood down as leader in February after another police raid on his home, but he is still very much with the group. Despite this, NA continues to thrive and create headlines largely because of its shocking antisemitism and harassment of people it does not like.

National Action set itself up as an intellectually based, pure national socialist movement with a mission to sweep aside the old, morally corrupted organisations but, of course, its followers are more interested in crude racism, antisemitism and violence.

As a result, the threat from NA is less political than physical. The organisation appears hell-bent on continuing its provocative actions and the individuals within it are becoming increasingly erratic, unpredictable and potentially violent.

Wayne Jarvie and Garron Helm are just two of the NA members who appear on collision courses with trouble.

Another is 19-year-old Stephen Dumont, who first got involved with the far right when he was just 13 and is described by those who know him as "highly motivated and disturbed". He has already been locked up for his part in a vicious attack on anti-fascists in Liverpool and his time inside has done nothing to reduce his anger.

And it is the danger from individuals such as these that makes the organisation such a cause for concern.



# NationalAction: key figures



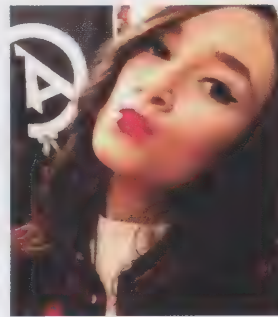
Ben Raymond: Founder, loner and Jew hater



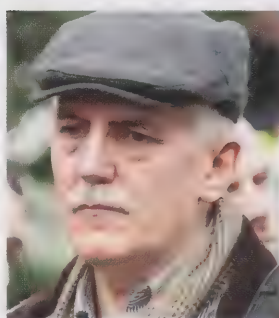
Alex Davies: Co-founder and leader. Failure at Philosophy



Paul Hickman: Former BNP organiser now NA bore



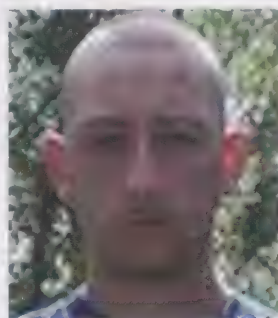
Bryony Burton: Mountain Ash's secretive antisemitic blogger



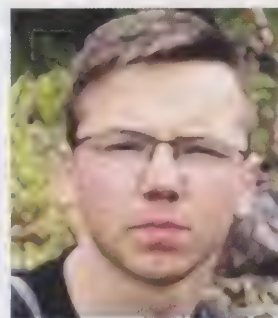
Larry Nunn: National Action's Mr Fix-it



Victor Cliff: Brazilian kickboxer



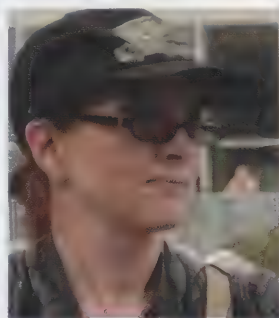
Ashley Bell: Supplier of pyrotechnics



Stephen Dumont: Young and dangerous



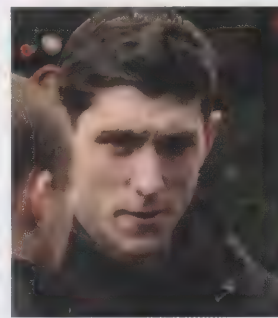
James "Mac": Fake reverend from Liverpool for Nazi religion



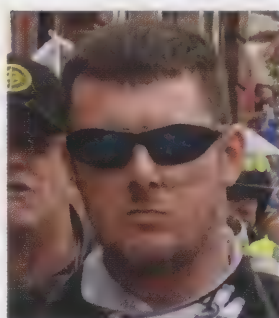
Lisa Miller: Same as Mac



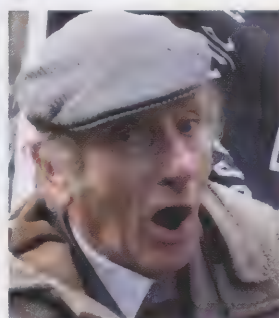
Terry Andre Miles: Mr fix-it for training adventures



Mark James: Former Young BNP's 'Mr Angry'



Wayne Jarvie: Psychotic Jew hater with passion for knives



Michael Woodbridge: Helpful ex-schoolteacher



Sam Mayhew: Former YBNP organiser



Kevin Layzell: doubles as the group clown



# A crisis of democracy

An astonishing 28% of the British adult population could soon find themselves without an electoral voice as changes to the way people register to vote are set to take affect the day after May's General Election.

With the young, those on lower incomes and minority communities most adversely affected, it genuinely reflects a major crisis in our democracy.

Nick Lowles reports





A WAR OF WORDS has erupted between the major political parties over news earlier this year that there were almost one million fewer people on the electoral register than last year.

Announcing the drop-off figures, Labour leader Ed Miliband claimed that the number of young people not registered to vote was a "scandal".

Labour said 307 of the 373 local authorities that provided data had recorded a reduction in their electoral roll. Overall, there had been a reduction of 950,845, the party said.

Labour has claimed the number of people registered to vote has fallen sharply in many university towns, blaming in part changes which mean universities and colleges can no longer block-register students living in halls of residence to vote.

The coalition parties hit back, accusing Labour of scaremongering.

"Labour also seem keen to hide the fact that the coalition government has made it extremely easy to register to vote - it can be done online in a couple of minutes," the Lib Dems' Tom Brake MP hit back.

The drop-off has occurred because of changes in the way people register to vote, meaning that each person has to register individually rather than relying on the old system whereby the head of the household could sign everyone up.

People also now have to provide a National Insurance number to register, which they did not have to do before.

While a transitional period means that no-one on the register when the changes took effect last June will drop off the register until after the General Election, the new regulations affect new people joining the register - be they students, people turning 18 and those moving house.

There has been a massive decline in the number of students on the register.

Cardiff, alone, has 23,000 fewer names on its electoral register than last summer, the bulk of them disappearing in the wards with the highest student population.

The worst affected council ward in the country, though, is University and Standforth ward in Lancaster where only 22 of the 7,500 students are on the register.

There is an 800-capacity hall of residence in Brighton with only 12 students on the register. A similar-sized hall in Birmingham is only slightly better with 25.

The other key group affected are the so-called 'attainers' - 17 year-olds who are allowed to register as they will be eligible to vote at some stage over the next year. Initial research shows many local authorities registering a 75% drop-off.

With so many constituencies with large student populations among the most marginal seats in the forthcoming General Election, it is quite obvious that the electoral drop-off could have a major impact on the outcome.

### A bigger problem

If this drop-off is not bad enough, it is dwarfed by a much larger figure of people not even on the electoral register. According to recent research by the Electoral Commission, the Government body that oversees the entire electoral process, only 82.3% of all eligible voters are actually on the register at all.

That means that even before this new drop-off is counted, 8,500,000 adults who could vote can't.

This includes 44% of all 18-24 year olds and the same number of all those who live in private-rented accommodation, almost a quarter of all Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) adults, rising to almost a third of Black Africans.

When compared with older voters, those who own their own home and white British voters, it is clear that the poor and most marginalised communities are more likely to be unregistered.

And worse is still to come in May, when the full impact of the changeover to Individual Electoral Registration comes into effect.

Last month, the Government announced, quite triumphantly, that it had managed to match 87% of those people on the old register with the records held by Inland Revenue and the Department of Work and Pensions, a higher figure than some had feared last year.

However, that still leaves 13% of

people coming off the register in May which equates to over five million people.

When this is added to the 8,500,000 million people already not on the register we have an astonishing 13,637,937 people.

This equates to 28.4% of all those eligible to vote.

This is an absolute scandal for a country that boasts of having the oldest parliamentary democracy in the world.

### Councils under pressure

The Government will argue that it is now the responsibility of local councils to sign up missing voters, starting with those who are currently on the register but who will drop off in May.

It has provided £14m to assist councils in this work. However, councils argue that this is insufficient for the task, while others have criticised the way the money is being allocated to councils as it is not even being ring-fenced.

One problem is that as Electoral Services are not considered a 'frontline' service, they have generally been adversely affected by council cuts. Stoke-on-Trent council has reduced its Electoral Services team from eleven to just four people over the last few years while Barking & Dagenham council has just five staff members dedicated to this work.

London is facing the brunt of the impending fall-off because of the transitory nature of much of its population.

According to the Government's own estimates, only 46% of residents in Kensington and Chelsea match with DWP and Inland Revenue data, meaning the remaining 54% would drop off in May unless they re-registered.

Nine out of ten of the worst affected councils were in London, the other being Oxford.

The Government could not match 35% of voters in Brent, but even after several months of getting these people registered, the council finds itself with an even higher figure likely to drop off in May. This is largely due to the substantial numbers of people in private rented accommodation.

With just six members of staff

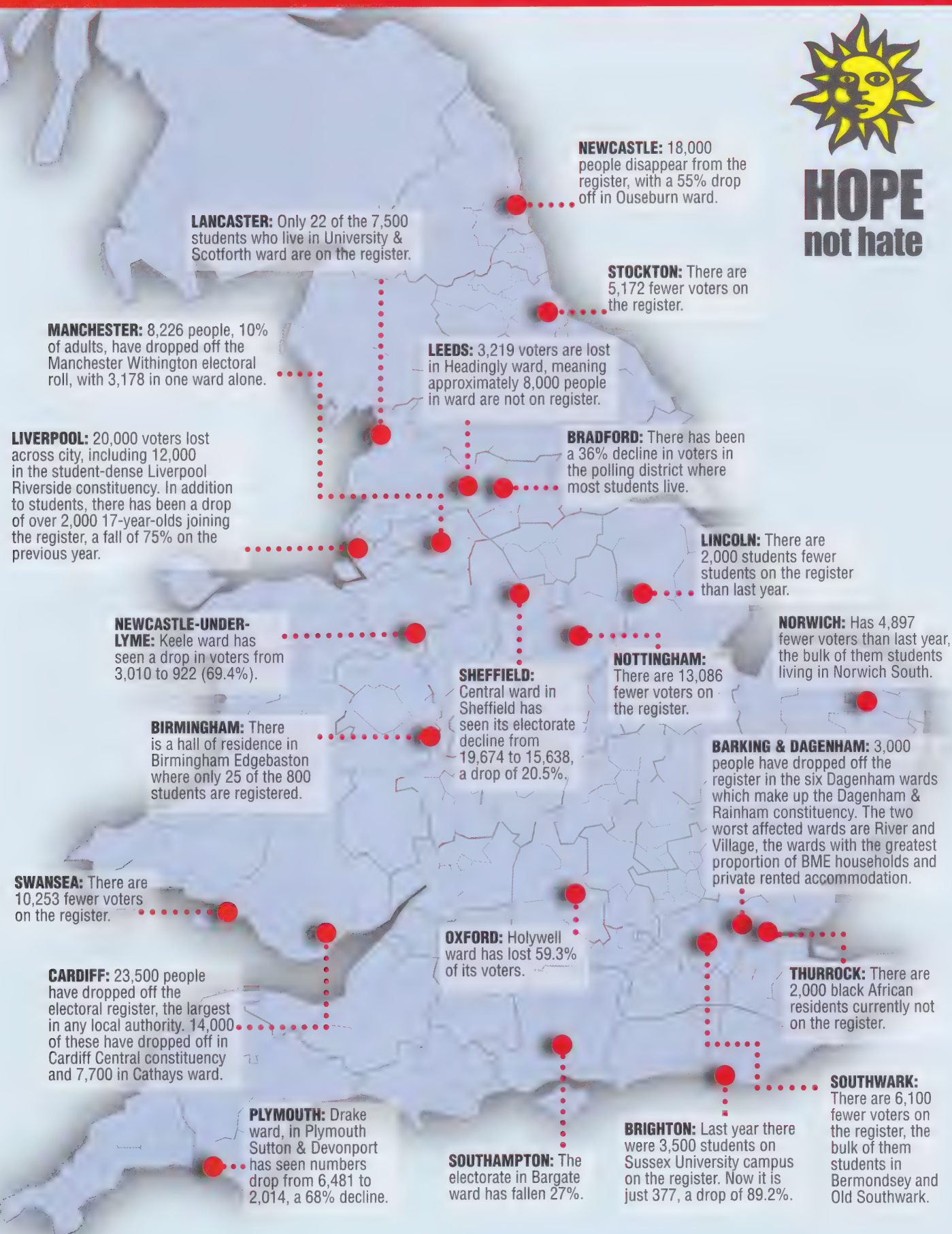


# Democracy in crisis as 30% of young people are not registered to vote

## The national picture... in a snap shot



**HOPE**  
not hate





in its Electoral Services department, the council does not see the figures improving ahead of May.

The Government has also boasted that the ability to register online makes the whole process more accessible. That may be so but only if people are already motivated to search out the website.

Online registration also can only work if people have their National Insurance numbers to hand...which many don't.

### The duty to enroll

The Government claim that the change to Individual Electoral Registration is being made to prevent fraud and improving democracy.

"Individual Electoral Registration has replaced the outdated head of household voter registration system and is both increasing the accuracy of the register and giving people more control and ownership over the process," a Cabinet Office spokesperson told the BBC.

Others are more suspicious and say the changes are more politically motivated and have exaggerated the level of fraud to push these changes through.

"Sadly, I fear it is in the Conservative Party's interest to suppress the number of citizens who are able to vote," says Rowenna Davies, a *Guardian* journalist and Labour councillor. "This is a party that opposed universal suffrage and caused the massive decline in the number of people on the electoral roll through Margaret Thatcher's plans for a poll tax, which resulted in many people dropping off the list for fear of having to pay."



"The party," she says, "knows that the groups vulnerable to the change – renters, BME groups, young people – are unlikely to vote for it. The groups left voting will be the relatively powerful in society and so our politics will become more likely to serve them and their interests, cutting the less fortunate out of the conversation."

Whatever the motives behind these changes the impact will be the same – namely that over a quarter of all eligible voters will not have the vote on 8 May – and this should be a scandal for anyone who believes in democracy.

Whatever one's political views, voting is the life-blood of a democracy and the greater the number of people who are not able to do so, the greater the propensity to find alternative forms of protest. Some might be progressive, many will not.

While it would be nice to think that people would put themselves on the

register, the reality is that many will not and so it is incumbent on the authorities to make registration as easy as possible.

The most obvious thing the Government could do would be to allow people to register to vote as they apply for a passport or driving license, or fill out benefit and tax forms, and to allow councils to register people via council tax forms.

Given that the bulk of information required for these forms would be the same as is needed for registering to vote, it would require a simple tick box and a signature.

Another idea would be to allow people to register to vote on polling day itself instead of the current two-week cut-off time before an election. Given that 44% of those not on the

register think they are and interest in an election is at its height on polling day, allowing those who would normally be uninterested in voting a chance to cast their vote at the last minute would surely be good for democracy.

Over the next few weeks HOPE not hate is organising a major Voter Registration (VR) drive across the country. We will be partnering the National Union of Teachers to run voter registration canvassing drives in many of the most unregistered communities in the country and we will be joining forces with the *Daily Mirror*, Unite the Union, Operation Disabled Vote and Bite the Ballot for a VR bus tour.

We are doing this because people need to have a voice, especially those who are the most marginalised in society. Without the opportunity to exercise their democratic rights, alienation will only grow and extremists will be able to exploit it. ●

**TO GET INVOLVED IN OUR VOTER  
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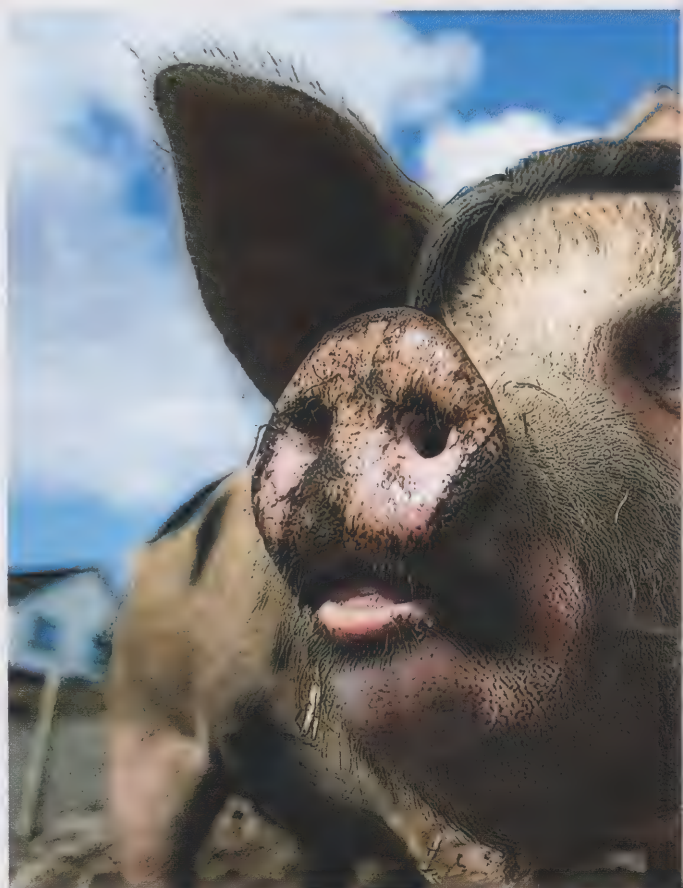
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# New nazi s

By Graeme Atkinson and Jean-Yves Camus with the assistance of Hnh correspondents in Denmark and Greece.





# wamp – Griffin dives in

FAILED BNP chief Nick Griffin is now firmly back where he belongs and where he is happiest: swimming with the pond life in the international nazi swamp that goes by the misnomer, Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF).

On 4 February, abandoning all his previous spurious claims to respectability, he co-fronted the APF's first congress – it was actually launched in September 2014 – in the European Parliament in Brussels, no doubt eyeing funding by European tax payers.

The new international party brings together various hardcore fascist groups, including two that made their entry to the European Parliament in 2014: the nazi German National Democratic Party (NPD) and the Greek nazi Golden Dawn (GD). The Italian Catholic fundamentalist and fascist Forza Nuova has no seat in Strasbourg but has a multi-millionaire leader, the convicted terrorist, Roberto Fiore, who is one of the founders.

As APF president Fiore is in charge of an executive board that is almost a *Who's Who?* of nazi extremism and includes

■ Artemis Mattheopoulos (deputy chair), a Golden Dawn MP

■ Jens Pühse (secretary general), NPD (Germany)

■ Stefan Jacobsson, Svenskarnas Parti (Sweden)

■ Gonzalo Martin Garcia, Democracia Nacional (Spain)

■ Hervé van Laethem, Nation (Belgium)

■ Daniel Carlsen, Danskernes Parti (Denmark)

■ Olivier Wyssa, lawyer and member of the Rhone-Alpes Regional Parliament (France).

The theme of the latest Brussels junket was "Greece after the parliamentary election: The results seen in a nationalist perspective" and speakers unveiled the findings of an APF mission to Athens supposedly to assess the extent of "political persecution against Golden Dawn" which was able to participate in the January elections and win 17 seats (6.3% of the vote).

The Greek authorities have been rather kind to those demanding the release of imprisoned activists and leaders of the nazi party before March, the deadline by which they must either be tried or released. Indeed, the APF delegation was even allowed to meet the porcine GD *fürher* Nikos Michaloliakos in his Korydallos prison.

The group of fascist prison visitors included, in addition to Fiore, the NPD MEP Udo Voigt and a Russian lawyer named Mikhail Kuznetsov who was involved in the Pussy Riot trial as a civil claimant lawyer on behalf of the Orthodox Church.

His presence suggests that in Moscow there is not only interest in Marine Le Pen's outfit, the European Alliance for Freedom, but in groups even further to the right and immune to any "demonisation" because the APF's member parties defend an openly antisemitic line.

The European Alliance of National Movements – to which Front National leaders, Marine Le Pen, Jean-Marie Le Pen and Bruno Gollnisch formerly belonged – is slowly dying but the APF will move in to try to fill the gap by bringing hardcore nationalist right parties together.

The APF top table lists participation by the French extremist Olivier Wyssa, a former elected FN official sacked by Marine Le Pen in 2011 because he was "too radical". Wyssa is a prosperous lawyer in Geneva (he holds dual French-

Swiss citizenship) in a law firm along with the Swiss fascist Pascal Junod.

On its Facebook page, a photograph of a Forza Nuova meeting held in Milan on 20 December, 2014 shows Alexandre Gabriac and Yvan Benedetti, leaders of the banned *Œuvre française* and Jeunesses nationalistes groups, on the front row. Fiore may well have this unsavoury duo somewhere in the APF mix.

Mattheopoulos is no political oil painting either, having been bass guitarist in a Greek hate rock band called Pogrom! This band had a vast repertoire of racist, fascist and antisemitic songs. *Auschwitz*, a song with lyrics like "fuck Anne Frank", "fuck the tribe of Abraham", "piss on the Wailing Wall" "Juden raus" and "Auschwitz, how much I love it", is broadly characteristic of the band's "work" and Mattheopoulos' sordid sympathies. He should get on like a house on fire with the oft-convicted Pühse who was one of Germany's top purveyors of nazi hate rock music in the 2000s.

Daniel Carlsen, 25, also has plenty political form. In 2011, he left the Danish National Socialist Movement (DNSB) and, in pursuit of a "modern" nazi organisation, founded his own Danskernes Parti (Party of the Danes). He has good connections to people from the Danish Defence League and Danmarks Nationale Front. His Belgian APF colleague Hervé van Laethem, who heads the fascist Nation group and is a Holocaust denier, has previous convictions for racism.

So far, the APF has the support of relatively small fish like the Belgian Francophone Nation Movement, the Spanish Democracia Nacional, ELAM in Cyprus, Sweden's outright nazi Svenskarnas Parti and, as eager as ever to get his snout in the trough with his fellow criminals, former MEP Nick Griffin who, on being turfed out of the British National Party, went on to found his latest flop, British Unity.

A significant absentee from the APF table is the Hungarian fascist Jobbik party, a party that both Griffin and Fiore have long cultivated. Without Jobbik, the APF will – unless it can grab funds from the hated European Union – only be a tired retread, with fewer material resources and structures than its forerunner, the European National Front (founded by Fiore and the NPD in 2004), and confined to the margins by the consolidation of right-wing populism. ●





# Left and Right win in

*From Panayote Dimitras for Greek Helsinki Monitor in Athens*

ON 25 JANUARY 2015, Greeks handed a convincing victory to the left radical party SYRIZA with 36.5% of the vote, an 8.5% lead over the conservative New Democracy (ND) party. This being the first time the Greek left has won, the election is historic.

The extreme right globally came out weakened in the stats but bolstered in the impressions: from 16% in the last elections in June 2012, the three far right parties fell to 12%. The largest, Independent Greeks (ANEL) – allied with the Conservative Party in the European Parliament but flirting also with UKIP – fell from 7.5% in 2012 to 4.8%. The Orthodox Popular Alliance (LAOS) fared even worse than in June 2012, falling from 1.5% to 1%.

The second real winner of this election, however, was the notorious and criminally indicted nazi Golden Dawn. In 2012, it came fifth with 6.5%. This year, it polled 6.3% but secured a historic third place, outpolling the newly formed centre left party To Potami (the River), which received 6%. If one takes into account that the nazi leadership is in prison awaiting trial and thus the party effectively did not campaign, this result is clearly a victory for the nazis.

In another historic development: the socialist PASOK, which in 2009 polled around 40% but fell to 12% in 2012, emerged seventh with 4.7%, behind the Communist KKE with 5.5% (+1% since 2012) and the Independent Greeks.

PASOK's former leader and still Socialist International (SI) president George Papandreou now leads the splinter Movement of Democrats

and Socialists that fell below the 3% threshold, polling 2.5%, and will not be represented in parliament: confirmation of an expected historic humiliation for the SI and the heir to the Papandreou political dynasty.

The now second largest extreme right party, the Independent Greeks (ANEL), despite having dramatically declined in the polls, was also a major winner because SYRIZA secured only 149 seats in the 300-seat Parliament. Thus, in order to form a government with a seat majority, SYRIZA immediately chose ultra-nationalist, Eurosceptic, xenophobic and antisemitic ANEL over more likely partners like the pro-Europe centre left Potami or the socialist PASOK.

That choice may have stunned those who do not follow Greek politics closely enough. Far right watchers, though, had already recorded that, in some cities, the same candidates were supported both by SYRIZA and the ultra-nationalist, Eurosceptic, xenophobic and antisemitic extreme right LAOS as far back as the 2006 local elections.

Moreover, extreme right LAOS politicians had been in government coalitions from November 2011 through to this year's election even though, in 2012, they abandoned LAOS to join ND without changing their views. So, ANEL's participation secures continuity in the presence of the far right in government for a fourth year.

The Eurosceptic national populist stance of SYRIZA is what makes it appealing even to the extreme right. When, after the elections, SYRIZA used tough language towards Greece's

European and IMF creditors, seeking a renegotiation of austerity measures imposed by the creditors, even Golden Dawn and LAOS gave it support, alongside notoriously racist bishops and other ultra-nationalist former ND politicians.

At the same time, human rights advocates did not fail to note that the new government's policy declarations before Parliament ahead of the confidence vote were anything but radical. There were only a few token human rights commitments: citizenship to children of migrants born and raised in Greece and extension of civil partnerships to same-sex couples which is an obligation after Greece's conviction for discrimination by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in November 2013.

Missing were separation of the Orthodox Church and the state (there was a mere general reference to it as a future development), marriage for same-sex couples, and also the abolition of blasphemy laws. Worse, there were no commitments to execute several ECtHR judgments against Greece by allowing the operation of Macedonian and Turkish associations, providing housing and education rights to Roma, ending ethnic profiling and swoop operations against migrants and Roma, and creating an independent authority to investigate police violence.

Symbolically, the new prime minister Alexis Tsipras concluded his programmatic speech on 8 February 2015 by thanking ANEL president Panos Kammenos for his "unwavering persistence and decisiveness for the



# Greece

formation and the functioning of the social salvation government." Kammenos could not have been more pleased with that eulogy and the government's national populist declarations.

The same day, the SYRIZA daily newspaper *Avgi* ran a profoundly Holocaust-trivialising cartoon that triggered a rare official protest by the Athens Jewish Community ending with the expression of a feeling of "Shame!"

Antisemitism has historically been recorded on both right and the left of the political spectrum in Greece, a country which was the highest country outside of Middle East and North Africa in the US Anti-Defamation League's antisemitism index in 2013.

The report showed that 69 percent of adult Greeks surveyed answered "probably true" to six or more of 11 negative stereotypes about Jews, as compared with 4% in Sweden, 37% in France, 8% in the UK, 13% in the Czech Republic and 45% in Poland.

And, just a few days after the elections, the Athens Appeals Court Indictment Chamber, after several months delay, finally referred to trial as a criminal gang, all Golden Dawn's MPs in the 2012 parliament and scores of other GD activists and functionaries.

The trial will probably start in April 2015, by which time GD's top leaders will have walked free because the maximum 18-month pre-trial detention will have ended. When it does take place any case, the trial is expected to last more than a year and its verdict will probably then be appealed, leading to an appeal trial no earlier than 2017.

SYRIZA  
supporters in  
Greece  
Photo from flash  
by bluto / iStock



# Channel 4's *Immigra*

When the production company behind controversial series *Benefits Street* tried to film a new series about immigration in Southampton, it ran into more than it bargained for. By Nick Ryan

It is an unlikely story. A large production company with a string of hit shows descends on one of the most ethnically diverse streets in the port city of Southampton, hot on the heels of its 2014 success with Channel 4's infamous *Benefits Street*. Its aim? To film the lives of immigrants.

As Channel 4 put it last year, when it announced *Immigration Street* would be made by Love Productions – the same company that had filmed *Benefits Street* on James Turner Street in Birmingham – the new six-part series would “capture life on a street in Southampton where the mix of residents has been transformed over time and continues to evolve as a result of immigration.”

Cameras will follow the lives of some of the residents of Derby Road in the Bevois district of the city... an ethnically diverse street where the majority of residents were not born in the UK.”

Yet, within a short space of time, Love Productions appears to have alienated a huge number of local residents, police, city councillors and community groups. Aided by HOPE not hate's southeast community organiser Nick Spooner, these groups created a campaign and then lobbied Channel 4 hard (including a picket outside the broadcaster's HQ).

The result was that a six-episode run has become a single hour of TV (which will have aired by the time you're reading this article). In the process, their opposition to the show has brought people together in a way few could have imagined.

## Derby Road

Newtown, including Derby Road, is a quiet, friendly area not far from the River Itchen that divides the central area of Southampton from the city's eastern Itchen suburbs. UKIP has polled up to 30% in several wards in the city but the racism and stereotypes of the immigration debate seem far removed when you actually visit Derby Road itself.

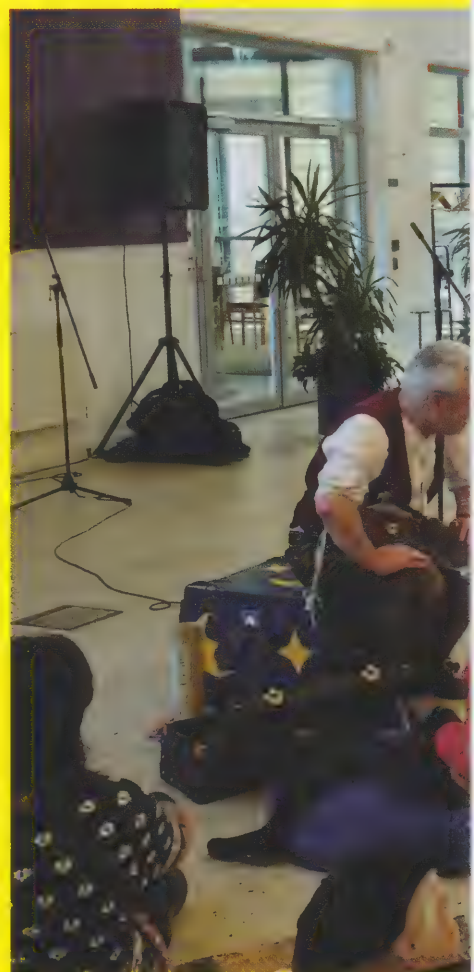
The occasional local supermarket, primary school, a dress shop, a nearby mosque, Gurdwara and a community centre punctuate rows of terraced houses. Ethnically the area is home to newer arrivals from central and eastern Europe and Somalis, as well as second, third or fourth generation South Asian, settled migrants, and white British families.

Southampton, and more specifically Newtown, has faced much change. The once-mighty docks still make way for luxury cruise liners, but the industry that once dominated has been replaced by the service sector: retail, insurance, tourism, as well as the health sector (the NHS is a major employer). Campaigners say that zero hour contracts abound. Around 20% – or one in five – of its population are students, with two universities in the city.

The WestQuay shopping centre dominates the skyline near the central train station, with the lure of John Lewis and IKEA for shoppers on a wet February afternoon.

The city has a density of population of 47.5 people per

(right) Children enthralled by the story telling of Mike O'Leary!



(below) Campaigners gather ahead of a protest march





# Immigration Street debacle



## Filming

Anxiety began not long after the film crews arrived.

"We had researchers standing around in the shops, listening to people's conversations," says Patricia (Pat) O'Dell, vice-chair of the Newtown Residents' Association and very much the 'voice' for the campaign against *Immigration Street*. "Soon after, my husband said that he saw someone directing three inebriated men in the street ... as soon as that happened, we knew what was afoot."

Pat, who grew up in nearby Chandlers Ford and who jokes that she married into the area "because my husband told me he was rich!" (she laughs at her own joke), says that the area was very quiet until Channel 4 came along. "We were more concerned with bins, water bills, fly-tipping ..."

She says one of the turning points was when they heard that people they thought were connected to the film company had been approaching homeless adults who were using the Two Saints Community Centre, including men with mental health and alcoholic problems. The manager of the centre was so incensed by what he claimed had happened that he confronted Love Productions' creative director Kieran Smith at a heated public meeting last August.

"They said they were going to



hectare (compared to an English average of 4-5 per hectare) and those who describe themselves as other than 'White British' in the 2011 census make up 22.3% of the 237,000 population, a clear increase from 11.3% in 2001. Muslims constitute 4.2% of Southampton's citizens, another 1.5% are Sikhs and a further 1% Hindu.

Derby Road has changed too. It was once part of a red light district but local residents are proud that they helped clean up the area. Poverty and problems can still be found, but local pride is certainly there.

Into this, last summer, arrived the researchers, producers and crews from Love Productions, a film production company 70% owned by Sky. It has produced *The Great British Bake Off*, *The Great British Sewing Bee* and, of course *Benefits Street* (of which a second series is now filming).



make a film about immigration, but then we heard they were telling people they could be on Big Brother after this, and people got very afraid about the fallout," says Pat.

*Benefits Street* had already portrayed James Turner Street in Birmingham in a less-than-impressive light. After the programme aired, Birmingham politicians complained the road was inundated with "TV tourists" who egged homes, hurled insults and defaced the street sign. They said the whole area was stigmatised and local primary school children were bullied.

Pat O'Dell said that they now feared a repeat of that situation: Derby Road's residents would be used for entertainment purposes, children would face problems, and the area – which many say they have fought hard to improve – would have its (and the city's) name smeared again.

HOPE not hate also raised concerns that, in a similar manner to after *Benefits Street*, the effects of the show would be felt nationwide, inflaming anti-immigrant sentiment.

"This is a point that I was trying to make from the beginning of my time here," says Nick Spooner. "This was not just about Derby Road, but about standing up for, and alongside, new and settled communities across the country."

Satvir Kaur, a local councillor who grew up in Newtown, says the debate on immigration is necessary and important, but that Love Productions' approach was unfair.

"It hasn't been balanced, it just hasn't been open," she told the BBC's *Sunday Politics* recently. "It wasn't debating immigration, it was the way Channel 4, Love Productions, were going about it. Immigration is an important issue, but it can be a toxic issue, and it shouldn't be sensationalised on people's doorsteps."

She says that the production company were cherry picking individuals and giving them no say in the final edit of the show. "This was not an open debate," she says. "These people have done nothing to build trust and work with that community they're seeking to represent [in the series]." She says that *Benefits Street* "completely ripped up that community".

This gets to the crux of the protesters' contentions.

Pat says you can already see the negative effects when you look at some of the (hostile) comments printed on the local newspaper's comment boards, including one which talked about "those coolies coming over here". She is disturbed by much of what she reads.

"I sat with a family last night who've been here for 13 years and they weren't that worried about the programme. But then they looked at the comments on the local paper and they're absolutely petrified now. They pay their taxes, they pay their dues, yet they know they're going to be ostracised after this programme."

### The Campaign

The Southampton Communities Alliance, a collection of residents' associations, councillors, trade unions and HOPE not hate, was formed early on as a grassroots response to *Immigration Street*. In turn, an official city body called Connect also weighed in, bringing together the council, police, and health officials, all opposed to the programme.

"That's been one good thing about this whole affair," argues Pat O'Dell, "the city has been brought together."

Ali Beg, manager and founder of Awaaz FM Community Radio station, was also heavily involved in the campaign. His station targets community audiences in 10 different languages and is listened to by many of Southampton's 15,000 Pakistani community. Ali, an eye doctor by training, says that there have been Asians in the city since the 1870s onwards and that families like his have been residents since 1949. Was Love Productions making a film about "immigration", or was it blurring the dividing line between "immigrants" and settled BME communities?

"We've heard that far right groups are planning to come and march in the area," Ali suggests, as a result of attention focused by the production.

Many residents started pulling out of filming, while the campaign ramped up its efforts. Some residents, Pat claims, struggled for months to get written confirmation their participation would not be used after withdrawing consent: "I know someone who was in a terrible state about all this," she says.



Pat and another volunteer helping with posters/leaflets for HOPE Street

Speaking to a community meeting last year, local MP Alan Whitehead said 95% of the local people he had heard from were against the filming. Love Productions representatives were booed at a mass community meeting in July, where residents demanded the production company "get out" of their community.

Meanwhile, John Denham, MP for Southampton Itchen, added: "Everything should be talked about in the immigration debate. The issue here is about a particular company, with a bad track record, which came into a community that didn't want them there and forced their way in."

In October community leaders (including Council leader Simon





Letts, MP Alan Whitehead and Police and Crime Commissioner Simon Hayes) published an open letter calling on Channel 4 to axe the controversial documentary, calling it "ill-named and ill-advised". In it they said they feared the programme could "set community relations back years and years", because it was (originally) scheduled to appear close to the General Election.

More than 1,500 people signed two petitions, one courtesy of Joe Dukes from Unite Community, the other from HOPE not hate's Nick Spooner, arguing that *Immigration Street* could ignite "racially-motivated violence" and fuel prejudice with its "sensationalist broadcasting".



Nick joined the Southampton Community Alliance during one of its first meetings last September. From then, he says, the goal was clear: raise awareness, build capacity for the movement, spread information and strengthen community resilience. He was keen to inject an element of positivity into the arguments around *Immigration Street*: providing something for residents to fight for, not just against.

During a round of near-continuous meetings, Nick spoke on several occasions at local mosques about the importance of this unity, conducted multiple radio interviews and briefed many different student bodies aimed at raising awareness (and a will to act). This culminated in a huge push towards HOPE Street: a positive, community-based day in mid-January, highlighting the community's response to *Immigration Street*.

"It was a resounding success," says Nick, 26, a former heavy metal drummer who grew up on the south coast. "After a lot of hard work, we had more than 400 local people show up and performances from young dance companies, tons of live music, ballroom dancing, arts and crafts ... [also a pottery workshop, free

food, as well as 20-odd interactive stalls detailing information about community organisations hard at work in the city]. It wasn't a protest event, but a celebration of, and for, the city."

As well as then holding a local demonstration in Southampton, at the end of January Nick and other campaigners descended on Channel 4's headquarters in London to express the strength of feelings about the programme. Shortly afterwards, Channel 4 announced that *Immigration Street* would be cut from six episodes to one.

Nick's next priority is a mass voter registration campaign, mainly focused on the student areas of Bargate – a ward where many thousands have fallen off the electoral register – in time for the registration cut-off on 20 April.

#### After-Effects

The *Immigration Street* debacle, however, has clearly left a bad taste in everyone's mouth. Pat O'Dell says it will take time to work to heal the divisions that started opening up once the production began.

"It's been a part-success, a partial victory," says Pat. "It's not being shown near the election, when it was bound to have a more polarising effect, so that's something."

In return, Love Productions has denied that it paid residents to take part, or "targeted" vulnerable people in the community. It has also alleged that a "criminal gang" had threatened its film crews in Southampton.

Kieran Smith claims that his team were forced to cut short filming after these threats. "They threw rocks and eggs at the crew. People were threatened with having acid thrown over them, and having their fingers chopped off," he said. Hampshire Police have said that Channel 4 has failed to provide any evidence for these claims, despite requests to do so.

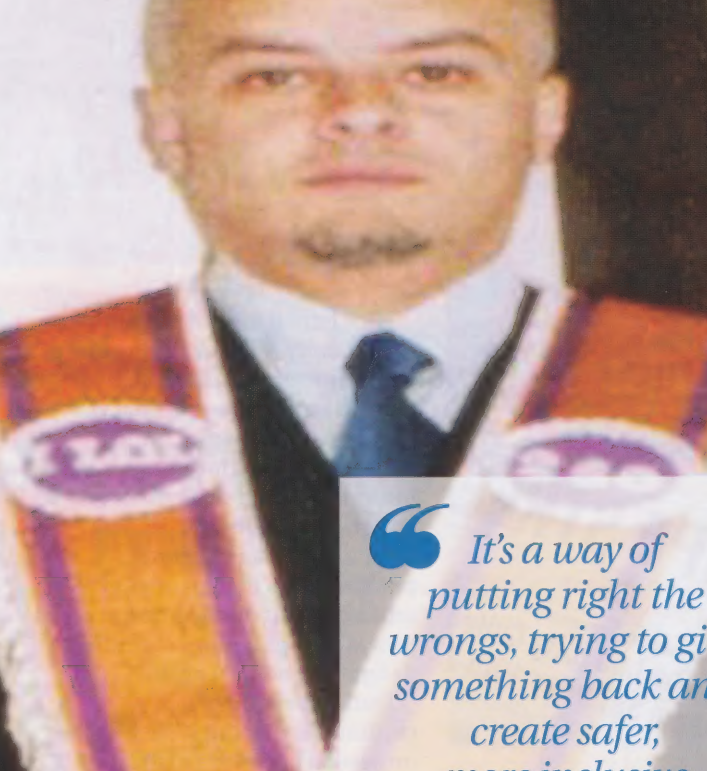
Channel 4 has said: "Despite objections from some local groups, immigration is too important an issue for debate about it to be silenced."

(top) HOPE not hate's Nick Spooner on a march

(bottom) Local councillor Satvir Kaur.

■ Immigration Street was aired on 24 February.





*“It’s a way of putting right the wrongs, trying to give something back and create safer, more inclusive communities”*

*“It’s a way of putting right the wrongs, trying to give something back and create safer, more inclusive communities”*





British society. Personally, I had massive issues with the way the IRA was fighting its war, murdering innocent, ordinary people and, as a result of the National Front advocating resistance to the IRA, I decided to join and do what I could against the IRA and its supporters."

Slowly but surely, he became immersed in the National Front, rising through its ranks to become one of its most prominent activists in Birmingham before eventually joining the openly nazi British Movement, becoming its West Midlands regional organiser and establishing *Europe Awake* magazine.

Bromage was never sectarian and despite his position as regional organiser stayed on friendly terms with nationalists from other groups.

His connection with the British Movement was not to last, largely because the group's pro-nationalist stance over Ireland was at odds with his own strong anti-IRA view but also because the BM refused to cooperate with C18, which had been formed in the early 1990s.

In C18 he saw a more appealing, hardline and uncompromising organisation and was quickly recruited onto the national council of its umbrella group, the National Socialist Alliance. However, even now, he was still not your typical far right activist, something even he was acutely aware of.

"I was not the norm or representative of what many people thought a far right or C18 activist was. I always wanted to bring in a different, more professional approach and also develop a community focus to the far right and C18's work, focusing on those in need, the isolated and vulnerable.

From this the idea was to become a vanguard for working people, similar to the way the Republicans and Loyalists operated in Ulster. "I wanted them to advocate a sensible answer to some of the issues of the day, including understanding that new communities

coming to the UK were economic settlers, similar to way many Brits have moved to Australia, New Zealand etc. This was instead of simply rehashing the traditional far right viewpoint of using immigrants as scapegoats for many of the ills in society."

Obviously this was not the normal approach of the far right and many simply did not understand and continued to follow a cruder, more racist approach."

To the outsider, it was clear that his views were incompatible with those of the people around him and he began to drift away. However, this was not an easy process and it is precisely because of this that he wants to help others who find themselves in the same position today.

"It wasn't like leaving a traditional organisation and sending in a resignation letter. Once I had decided to leave, I had to make some massive changes to my life, I gave up a really good job, I left my hometown and disappeared for two years. This was to give me space and time to adjust to normality and also re-evaluate what I had done and where I was going. Also the far right were not very happy because I knew so much about their operations and therefore it was wise to leave and live away from the locality where I was active."

After returning home, I got involved with a number of community activities and projects, looking to develop a more local approach, supporting all people regardless of race/religion. From this, I started looking at things very differently and have sought to look at improving things everyone shares and wants, like good local services, schools, and facilities."

The reason for doing this was quite simple. "It's a way of putting right the wrongs, trying to give something back and create safer, more inclusive communities."

Via this work, I can address some of the issues some people have, explain

the reality of things and hopefully save people getting involved with extremism and also minimise local communities the distress and harm such activity can lead to."

Now Nigel wants to use his own life experiences to warn others about the dangers of the far right and help those within it to leave. And while the political fortunes of the far right might have declined, getting involved has never been easier.

"The internet is a dream for political activists. With little effort, a bit of time and not much money, people can have an online voice that can reach thousands. Unlike before, when we had to rely on word of mouth, paper sales and stickers, these could all only be found in areas where you had activists, now hate is accessible online 24/7 and if young people know a group's name or do a simple search, they can be on a forum or website in minutes, being indoctrinated with views that can only lead to suffering and pain for so many."

Nigel has set up a social enterprise business – Small Steps Consultants – to raise awareness of the far right and its dangers to professionals, schools, local government workers, communities and most importantly young people.

Believing all extremism is bad, Nigel says it is vital that the issues are understood and addressed. "We need to keep people from becoming frustrated and looking to extremists as the only ones who will listen and provide a vehicle for people's anger. Instead, we need to offer safe spaces for people to talk, raise awareness of the dangers of extremism and highlight what unites us, not what divides us."

Small Steps Consultants, therefore, seeks now to be part of the solution and not the problem and is working with some excellent organisations such as Upstanding Neighbourhoods, promoting awareness of the dangers of extremism."

Developing a proper and credible Exit programme is Nigel's ultimate hope.

He certainly believes that if such a programme had operated back in his day then he would have left the far right sooner: "There is a massive need to help people come away from the far right and also look to support them once they have made that decision. The alternative is we carry on as we are with the continuing circle of the right clashing in the streets and affecting local communities and businesses."



because **Sitting on the Fence is No Longer an Option**

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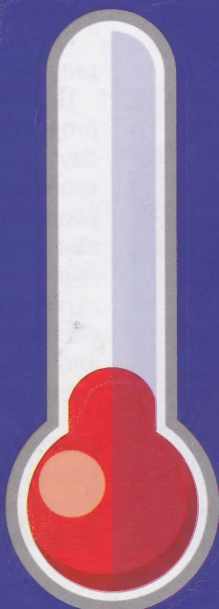
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